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The Princeton Seminary Bulletin

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Volume LIII · October 1959 · Number 2

PRINCETON THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY

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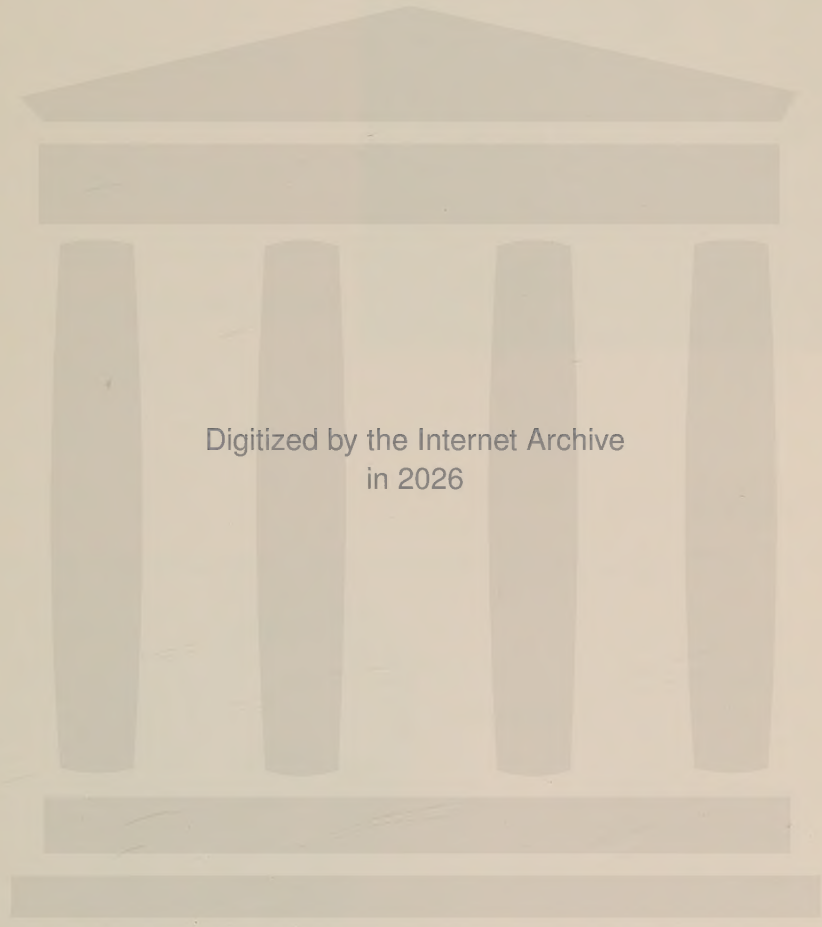

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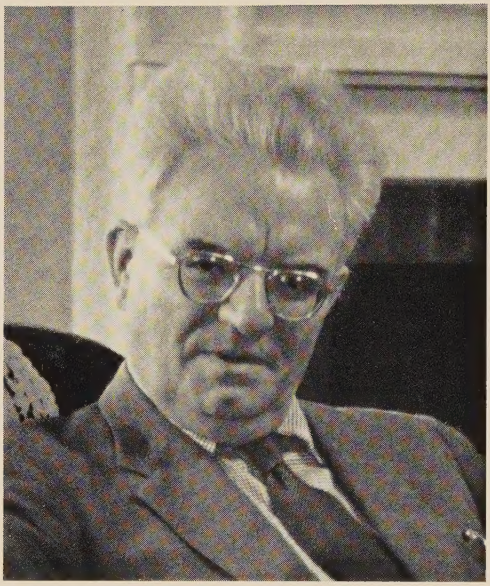

EMILE CAILLIET

EDNA HATFIELD

The Princeton Seminary Bulletin

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Donald Macleod, Editor Edward J. Jurji, Book Review Editor

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IN THIS ISSUE

MUCH of the material in this issue of the *Bulletin* is the record of the significant events of the 146th Commencement program: the Baccalaureate Sermon by Emile Cailliet, the Commencement Address by John Coventry Smith, and the Farewell to the Graduates by President Mackay.

Two informative articles on subjects of contemporary interest have been prepared by members of the Biblical Department: *The Gospel of Thomas*, by Otto A. Piper, and *Modern Israel—Museum and Miracle*, by Charles T. Fritsch.

On the annual Convocation Day, April 22, 1959, the students chose as the theme for discussion, "Church and State in Contemporary America." In order to have a well-balanced presentation of the issues involved, three leaders from Protestant, Jewish, and Roman Catholic traditions were invited as theme speakers: James H. Nichols of the University of Chicago; Leo Pfeffer of the American Jewish Congress, New York; and Heinrich Rommen of Georgetown University, Washington, D.C. The addresses by Dr. Nichols and Mr. Pfeffer are published in this issue of the *Bulletin*. Father Rommen, who is now abroad in Europe, has promised his paper for the January, 1960, number.

D.M.

LECTURESHIPS, 1959-1960

Students' Lectureship on Missions

David du Plessis
World Conference of Pentecostal Churches
Subject:
"The Holy Spirit in the Mission of the Church"
November 2-4, 1959

L. P. Stone Lectureship

Howard G. Hageman, D.D.
North Reformed Church, Newark, N.J.
Subject:
"Worship in the Reformed Tradition"
February 1-5, 1960

Annie Kinkead Warfield Lectureship

J. K. S. Reid, D.D.
Professor of Theology, University of Leeds
Subject:
"Life in Christ"
April 4-8, 1960

YOU ARE INVOLVED

Commencement Address, June 9, 1959

JOHN COVENTRY SMITH

AMONG the many things John Mackay has done for me, I would mention three this morning. While on our first furlough studying at Hartford Seminary, he preached on a Sunday morning, March 8, 1935, what has been for me the most stimulating intellectual and spiritual sermon I have ever heard. It has been for me the symbol of the contribution that this man has made to all of us.

But he has also been an example. Some four years ago in Latin America, I heard a story about John Mackay and Princeton. It seems that at the time of the World Presbyterian Alliance meetings held here in 1954, there was a delegate from Guatemala who was a layman and who spoke very little English. He arrived in the U.S.A. three days early and came to Princeton looking for the World Presbyterian Alliance. No one at the station could enlighten him, but they sent him uptown. He fared no better there until someone in a store realized that this man spoke Spanish and directed him to a home here in Princeton where there was another man who spoke Spanish. He rang the doorbell, and the man of the house opened the door. He explained in Spanish what his trouble was, and the man told him he was three days early. He was wondering what he would do, when his new friend invited him to stay with them. His host carried his baggage up to the guest room and for three days he remained in that home. When the conference opened, he registered and moved to one of the dormitories. Only after the meetings began did he discover that his host was President of the Seminary, host to the conference itself, and the man whose name and fame were known all over the Spanish-speaking world. Famous as he is, it has been my experience that no one quite knows John Mackay until he has known him as a gracious host here at Princeton Seminary.

But your President has done a third thing for me by asking me to speak this morning. I know it is in part because our daughter is to graduate. But when I talked with John Mackay further, I found that he was interested in one thing—that you who are his last graduation class should be told once more how you are involved in the Mission of the Church.

For in the kind of world in which we now live and in the kind of world-wide Christian fellowship to which we now belong, we are, each of us, involved in a new and unique way. Once only a fraction of the graduation class could have been called missionaries, only those who volunteered and were sent by some Board of the Church. There is a sense in which this is no longer true. In our kind of world, you are all missionaries, whether you volunteer or not. You have no choice in the matter. You do not wait until some Board appoints you. As Richard Shaull has been saying, "Every Christian and every congregation is involved in a mission that has cosmic significance and which

longs for the fulfillment of God's purpose for the world."

Such a sense of involvement is bound to influence the direction of our ministry. Your work can no longer be what Dr. Masao Takenaka of Japan describes as "taking fish out of a dirty river called the world and placing them in a clean pool called the Church." Bishop Lesslie Newbigin puts it this way, "The Christian life is not a solo performance on a stage for which one receives a bouquet of roses in the wings after the act is over." In our kind of world, it is now clear that Christians must still be involved in the dirty river and that they are responding to the summons to perform in the drama in which God is acting in the world reconciling all men unto himself. Thus, you are involved in what God is doing in accomplishing his plan and purpose for all of mankind.

Such involvement presents at least three challenges to us in our time.

First is the challenge of political change. It is hard for us in the U.S.A. to realize the significance of the political changes that have come about in the rest of the world in our generation. Since World War II, the countries in Asia which we now call Ceylon, Pakistan, India, Burma, Malaya, Indonesia, the Philippines, Indo-China, and Korea, have gained their political independence. The events of the last fourteen years will be at least as significant for their history as the American Revolution is in ours.

And what has come to Asia is coming to Africa. Most of that continent is still a vast colonial empire. But not for long. On the masthead of a newspaper in Accra, the newspaper published by Kwame Nkrumah, the Prime Minister of Ghana, are these words, "It is better to be misgoverned and be free than to be well governed and be a colony." And this has become the slogan of all Africa. If this seems far away and related only to European colonial powers, let me give you a slogan I heard only last week in the Philippines—the words of Manuel Quezon, "It is better to have the Philippines run like hell by Filipinos than to have them run like heaven by Americans."

Such changes and such attitudes are facts to which at times we find hard to adjust. Some weeks ago, I talked with the editor of a Christian magazine in the heart of Africa. He told me of the revolutionary nature of the area in which he lived and of the Christian opportunity which was present. He said the greatest hindrances were some of the Christian leaders, both nationals and missionaries. They came to him saying, "This is no time to publish stories of independence in Ghana and Nigeria and the Cameroun. This is the time for you to publish in a Christian paper articles on what the European colonial governments have done for Africa." You see, even we Christians have become afraid of political change. We respond to the challenge by trying to ignore it.

Let's bring this closer home. For ten years we Christians in America have been trying to ignore the political change that has come to 650,000,000 people in China. Don't tell me it is because we disapprove of Communism. We certainly disapprove of Russian Communism also, but we have dealings with her—negotiations by Foreign Ministers and at the summit, exchange of visitors, even Christian deputations. Last week there was even talk of a Billy Graham campaign in Moscow. Let's thank God for all this. There is hope here for the future.

This is no place to discuss the ways by which China can also be admitted to the fellowship of nations, but certainly our Christian obligation is clear. We cannot be content with isolation. We must work and pray and act until we are joined with Christians in China also in seeking to serve God in our world. We cannot be content with isolation until our "No" becomes as monotonous to Asians as the Russian "Nyet" is to us. Only thus can we respond to the challenge of political change.

The second challenge we face in our involvement is the challenge of poverty, particularly in the underdeveloped areas of the world. Some three or four years ago an American woman wrote an article in the *Saturday Evening Post* called, "There Will Be No Christmas There." She had served the World Health Organization in several countries and wrote out of that experience. This is something of what she said: "There are more people in the world who live in mud huts than live in what we would call houses. There are more people who, when they travel, walk or at most ride on an animal than have ever ridden on trains or automobiles or ships or planes. There are more people who cannot read and write than there are people who are literate. There are more people who have never voted than have voted. There are more people who have never consulted a doctor than there are people who have been treated by a doctor. There are more mothers who expect that half their children will die before the age of ten than there are mothers who expect their children will grow to maturity."

Or, let us put it another way. The average annual income per person in the U.S.A. is now more than $2,000. In Japan it is $275. That seems a great difference until you hear the rest of it. In Korea it is $80 per person per year. In Pakistan it is $65, and in Indonesia the average income per person per year is less than $35.

You may say this is no new thing—it has always been true. And of course you will be right. The difference now is that both the rich and the poor know how the other lives. I was interned in Yokohama at the beginning of World War II. I lost weight on the food I was given, though it was the same as the Japanese police were eating. But even with the poor food I was reasonably content until I saw what was happening in the next room. The Americans there had access to their own food supplies from their own homes, and through a window in the partition we could see them eating meat and potatoes at least twice a day. It was then that the men in our room became really hungry and really excited.

In our time, the windows of the world have been opened. We know how other people live, and they know how we live. It is now as though we lived in a small community where our houses were in a wealthy suburb almost entirely surrounded by slums. We may try to excuse ourselves by saying that we belong to a profession that is poor. But this is only relative. We may have one of the poorer houses in the wealthy suburb, but by comparison with the rest of the world even we preachers are rich. We are in equal danger of what Jesus described as the greatest Christian handicap, "How hardly shall a rich man enter the kingdom of heaven."

The other day I was in a Midwest town which is often regarded as the typical Midwestern city in America. There is a new Presbyterian Church on

the edge of the city, just beside the college campus. It is a beautiful church with a parking lot beside it, just what the average suburban church wishes it had, and I suspect it is just what the average young minister wishes he had. I might have thought so too until I heard this story. Early on Easter Sunday morning, when the pastor went down to the church, he found someone had altered the bulletin board. It had read, "The First Presbyterian Church." It now read, "The First Presbyterian Country Club." The students in the college were on vacation, but they were still under suspicion, for one of the names that the students commonly use for this church is "Our Lady of the Cadillacs."

Last December Charles Malik, President of the United Nations, was speaking to the Life Insurance Association of America. He told these businessmen that he was often asked by Americans how long their help for underdeveloped countries would have to continue. "Have we not shared enough?" "What do we get in return?" And Charles Malik said, "In answer I should say, would that things were as simple as all that. There is a much greater delicate unity about the world than the complacent are prepared to admit. Barring unforeseen developments, you will be very lucky if you can get away with half of your substance before this age of troubles is over."

General Charles de Gaulle was asked the other day if he would go to a summit conference. He replied that he would and that he would support the West's position on Berlin. But he hoped also that he could speak for the 2,000,000,000 human beings who do not possess the atom bomb. "When two-thirds of the world's inhabitants lead a miserable existence, is it time for the dangerous fuss over West Berlin? The only quarrel worthwhile is that of mankind. It is mankind that is the question of saving. We who live between the Atlantic and the Urals, we who are Europe, with our daughter America, we who possess food and clothing, whose factories are busy, whose stores are full, whose roads and railroads and ports and airports are full, whose schools and hospitals are adequate, why do we not find a way together to lend a hand to all the others?" His question, of course, is a political and economic one. But it has a profound challenge to the Christian. We cannot be complacent while half the world is hungry. We must find a way.

The third challenge is more important than all the rest. It is the challenge you would expect one to make on such an occasion as this. But it is, nevertheless, supremely significant. It is the challenge of spiritual hunger. We have seen the evidence of it these last ten years in the United States. No matter how we may interpret it, the fact still remains that people are hungry for spiritual things. It is another evidence of the world's unity that this hunger is also present all over the world. Perhaps the fact that we are all now aware that we are equally threatened with atomic destruction is a reason for it. In any case, even people in economically underdeveloped areas know they cannot live by bread alone.

One of the appeals of Communism has been its answer to this deeper need of mankind. Here is participation in the sweep of history, something worth living and dying for. But that appeal is more than a little tarnished by the events of the last few years. First in Hungary and now in Tibet, the ideal-

ists have been disillusioned by the facts of totalitarian ruthlessness. Communism's appeal as a competitor in the field of religion is, at least for the moment, on the wane.

In Asia the non-Christian religions have furnished increased competition for Christianity. It is not that they have found increased spiritual resources. Rather, it is because of increased spiritual interest and an increased interest in one's national heritage. This is a renaissance, a refurbishing of the past in the light of present need. We Westerners are inclined to overrate its true significance.

Some three or four years ago when Arnold Toynbee was in the United States, he spoke of the fact that he believed Buddhism could furnish the spiritual base for the new Japan. Then for the first time he went to Japan. His report is part of his book, *East to West: a Journey Round the World.* He says that "Buddhism and Shintoism have lost their hold on the mind and spirit of Japan, that there is a great opportunity for Christianity. The number of Christians is small in comparison with the population, but already Christianity has modified some basic Buddhist ideas in Japanese society. There may be confusion on the surface for a long time to come, but underneath at the subconscious level Japanese people may already have begun to partake of the bread of life." I am not sure exactly what he means by that last sentence, but his whole statement is significant. It tends to confirm the faith of the Christian that at long last the world's spiritual need can be met only by what God has done for us in Jesus Christ.

In one respect, the Christian Church is better prepared to meet this challenge than ever before. Christians and Christian Churches in every country now join together in a world-wide fellowship for what has always been a world-wide task. The graduation class is representative of this international participation.

But we who are Americans may have the most difficult task ahead of us. It is hard to keep this vision in the average American community. We are as materialistic and as provincial as any nation on earth. We find much to frustrate us. The women of a congregation may understand the Mission of the Church better than the men. But the number who support us will still be a minority. And we may lose the vision ourselves. It is so easy to become busy with local plans and programs and not see the involvement of all that we do in what God is doing across the world.

But it can be done. There are many examples. I know a minister in West Virginia in an industrial suburb of a large city. He has a new church building and a growing congregation. But he has kept his perspective. His people participate in the program for refugee families from Europe. Not just in a project for one or two families a year, they have received and established more than fifty such families. His own home is modestly furnished. I know some of his income goes for work being done by seminary classmates who were from Asia and who now are at work in their own countries. He and his family and his congregation are involved.

Most of you know the writing of D. T. Niles of Ceylon, perhaps the most articulate of the Asian Christian leaders in our time. Two weeks ago last Sunday, I heard him preach the closing sermon at the East Asia Christian Conference in Kuala Lumpur, Malaya. We had adjourned to the in-

door stadium where there were 3,000 people present. He began with an illustration. He said that an Indian friend, Augustine Ralla Ram, had once come to a meeting in South India. On the train there had been a group of men together. When they stopped at a large station, they went into the lunchroom and ordered some light refreshments. When the bell rang, one man put down a ten rupee note to pay for a bill of a few annas. No one had change, so someone else in the party paid. This happened four or five times in the course of the day, and the man with the ten rupee note never had to pay.

Then Dr. Niles said, "We preachers have lots of ten rupee notes—our creeds, our systems of theology, our well-balanced statements of faith. The difficulty is that we never have a chance to use them. We need to get them into small change so we can use them in ordinary, casual ways."

With that introduction, he preached his sermon on four simple statements as his summary of the Gospel:

"1. God made you. This is what you really are. And you are responsible only to God and God alone.
2. God loves you. No matter who you are, no matter where you are, no matter what you have done, God loves you. Jesus, the elder brother, has followed you, the prodigal, into the far country to bring you a message from home. God loves you.
3. Jesus died for you. God has put himself at your mercy. We can't get rid of him. We find ourselves when we stand at the foot of the Cross and looking up say, 'I did that.' Jesus died for you.
4. When you die, you will go to God. There is no other place to go. For some it will be joy; for some it will be terrible."

The Church is the frontier of the Kingdom, the point at which God's rule invades the world. It is the community in which God's new order is already at work. Because it must protest against the false nature of life in the world and live in a society of people who do not obey God's rule, like Jesus, the Church is a pilgrim on the earth. It lives a broken life. It is the world's best friend and finest hope; yet the world often hates and despises it. Being a member of the Church is not easy, because it means being a member of a community of people who are constantly protesting against a sinful world, constantly maladjusted to a world that is not real, and constantly agonizing for the world of God's intention.

—E. G. Homrighausen, in *I Believe in the Church*, Abingdon Press, p. 89.

LET US COMMENCE TOGETHER

Words of farewell to the new Graduates by the President of the Seminary

Fellow Graduates of the Class of 1959:

WHEN I first graduated from Princeton Seminary in the year 1915, the second year of the First World War, I was fascinated by the word "commencement." In its particular association, it was a new word for me. I had never heard it used in academic circles as a synonym for graduation. I took it to be an Americanism, a mintage of the American spirit.

A week ago, however, in anticipation of this moment, I took the trouble to explore the meaning and origin of the word "commencement" as used in academic life in this country. I discovered that in its origin the word is not really an Americanism at all, but is a term which began to be used in its current academic significance in the period of mid-English. So now, when I "graduate" from Seminary for the second time, and I say this advisedly for you have graciously made me an honorary member of your class, I want to take this word as the theme of what has been called traditionally "Words of Farewell," but which are not strictly so today, for we are going to "commence" together.

I found in the course of my research, as I looked into both the Webster and the Oxford dictionaries, that academically speaking, to "commence" refers to that form of action which is expressed in taking a full degree, or to participation in the ceremony in which this full degree is awarded. I discovered, moreover, both to my surprise and chagrin, that in Middle England the word "commencement" was used only at the Universities of Cambridge and Dublin. That is to say, it appears never to have sounded in this sense north of the Tweed. The English and the Irish of those days may, in their benightedness, have even questioned whether students graduating from Scottish universities ever really obtained a full degree!

The really interesting thing is, however, that according to that marvelous tome of wisdom called a dictionary, three meanings are attached to the word "commence," and so to "commencement." One is the purely temporal meaning. I "commence," that is, I "begin." I enter day after day upon something new. I make a fresh start, though what I engage in may be pure routine. In academic circles, as I have suggested, to "commence" means to "obtain a full degree," or to participate in the ceremony associated with the granting of that degree. This is the second meaning.

But there is a third meaning, the pristine, basic meaning of the word commence. To commence means to begin to be. *To begin to be*! That is to say, to begin to be really alive, to acquire a new stature, to have new possi-

bilities, to enjoy a new freedom. In the academic sphere this takes place when loyalty is given to the institution and the ideals of the institution that has granted the degree.

In the deepest and broadest sense, however, to commence is to begin to be in very truth a human being. To begin to be is to become a captive to something, to someone, bigger than oneself, and to find one's being, fulfill one's destiny, in the gay, joyous, adventurous abandon to an idea, a cause, above all to a Person. He alone has begun to be in the fullest human sense, who is dedicated to the service of God and man. As we have just sung in our Class hymn:

Make me a captive, Lord,
And then I shall be free.

As regards you from this hour onwards, you are going to be free from the academic pressures to which you had to subject yourselves before the full degree was granted. You can now, however, as God's free men and women, shape your course, but subject always, if freedom is to be enjoyed, to that Greater than yourselves.

As for me, the freedom accorded by my new degree, the degree of President Emeritus, and honorary member of the Class of 1959, will mean freedom from administrative responsibility, which in one place or another, or in one form or another, I have had to discharge for thirty-six years out of forty-three years of official service. And yet, for such responsibility I have never felt myself to be specially fitted, or in the highest degree creatively competent. Exultant in this new-found freedom, fellow classmates, will be new work and the fulfillment of long-cherished dreams. Let me express one of these dreams, changing a word in a familiar couplet and say:

Work that the *decades* should have done
Must crowd the hours of setting sun.

At this point, however, let me use again the first person plural and speak about *us*. It will be ours, as part of our task in the years ahead, to infuse new meaning into, and even to restore to its proper status, the word commitment, a word which is becoming increasingly unpopular, both in cultural and religious circles. Plato said in his time: "The unexamined life is unworthy of a human being." Let us, in our time, say with a shout: "The uncommitted life is unworthy of a human being." The uncommitted person has not really begun to be. He is not truly alive. He doesn't know what life means and what human nature can become. For true devotion, enthusiasm, passion, for something, for someone greater than oneself, are inseparable from being truly alive, from receiving a full degree, from "commencing" in the fullest sense.

In that greatest book in Spanish literature, *The Life of Don Quixote*, the

Knight of La Mancha came to a moment when he could say, "I know who I am." It was the moment of his spiritual rebirth, fool though he was regarded by others. So, too, with us. We shall begin to be when we find the true and worthy object of our passionate allegiance, and then let ourselves go. And what is that highest and best object of devotion? What but Jesus Christ, his Church and his Kingdom?

> God needs men, not creatures full of noisy, catchy phrases.
> Dogs he asks for, who their noses
> Deeply thrust into Today
> And there scent Eternity.

To find the eternal in the temporal, in the passing moment, is to begin to live. Then the temporal and the transient become transfigured.

It was this that the great Augustine meant when he wrote in his *Confessions*: "All our years and our fathers' years have passed away through thy Today, and from it received the measure and the mold of such being as they have." Let us never forget that the routine, the commonplace, the transitory, flow as a stream through God's Today, which gives them their true pattern and importance. When we relate our lives to the eternal order, and engage in fulfilling some aspect of God's eternal purpose, we become really alive.

So *let us begin to be.* As the stream of life makes a new turn, let us be pilgrims. If in the coming days we find ourselves in the inner city, in a rural parish, in an industrial center, in a chaplaincy of one form or another; or if we come to occupy a teaching post, or go on a mission to the uttermost ends of the earth, or live, perchance, like a recluse engaged in writing and research for the sake of the Kingdom, let us do two things.

First, let us place the accent of eternity, of foreverness, upon the sphere where we go, and upon every work that we do. If it should be God's will, let us remain in that place and engage in that task till traveling days are done. Yet in so doing let us never cease to retain the pilgrim sense. Let us never be so rooted in any place that we shall not be ready to pull up stakes at God's beckoning, to begin the march afresh as pilgrims, crusading pilgrims. Such were Abraham and Moses, such were Paul and Jesus Christ Himself, travelers and pilgrims. Such, too, were the great Spanish saints, Theresa of Avila and John of the Cross: *grandes andariegos,* "great walkers," they were called. Let it be ours, by the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, to restore in the Church of today, in the culture and religion of our time, the pilgrim sense, the sense of the traveler who moves along trails and highways with a deep sense of the eternal, who does things that are everlastingly significant amid the routine of the changing temporal order.

And this, too, let us remember. On our pilgrim way, let us say "No" to mere ease and comfort, to prestige and popularity. Let us get on to the road

where our most creative thinking can be done, where the holiest companionships can be formed, where the Church needs most support to fulfill her world mission. Comrades of the Class of 1959, let us be pilgrims of eternity.

When I was a very small boy, a good part of my Sunday afternoons were spent looking at the pictures in a big volume of John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress*. One of the hymns I dearly love occurs in that famous classic. We have sung it many a time together in Miller Chapel. For myself and for you, I repeat it now, and so conclude:

He who would valiant be
'Gainst all disaster
Let him in constancy
Follow the Master,
There's no discouragement
Shall make him once relent
His first avowed intent
To be a pilgrim.

THE GREAT DOER OF THE UNEXPECTED

Sermon at Baccalaureate Service, June 7, 1959

EMILE CAILLIET

Luke 24:17: *And he said to them, "What is this conversation you are holding with each other as you walk?" And they stood still, looking sad.*

THE Emmaus disciples were dejected. What had happened in recent days did not make sense to them. The fact remains that they were disciples. They had lived with Jesus during his earthly ministry. They had witnessed the events of which he had been the center. They had listened to his teaching, pondered over his answers to their many inquiries. And yet they had hardly begun to understand what had taken place.

Do not rely on the "Messianic secret" to account for this, telling me that he who had been condemned as Messiah had never appeared in that role. This is too easy, too simple a solution. I for one am far from disposed to see the Christ and the historical Jesus put asunder in the summary ways current in our day. Surely the disciples had increasingly become aware of a profound difference between them and the Master. He had never asked their advice, never argued with them, never prayed with them. A sudden disclosure of his Messiahship would have overwhelmed them and confused them, if we are to judge from the extent to which they misunderstood the little they knew. Enough to say that they had been allowed to grow into an awareness of his significance that should have proved sufficient for them, even at the hour of trial and testing. Yet it had not been so. They had deserted him and fled. And so it was that they now were defeated men bereft of understanding.

What happened to these first disciples might well happen to us also. It is a fact of common experience that the failure of the Emmaus disciples continues to be our peril. We too have been disheartened by glaring discrepancies between what we were sure to be the will of God for us, and actual happenings which contradicted our well-grounded assurances. We have entered into the closet, shut the door, and prayed to the Father who is in secret; and our Father which sees in secret has rewarded us openly with a clear word of guidance. At such hallowed moments we have acquiesced with joy and simplicity of heart. We have thereupon proceeded with specific and sometimes detailed arrangements. The blueprint we had good reason to believe to have been God-given allowed us to see the way ahead, sometimes at long range, and with amazing precision. But then, a few weeks or even days later, there intervened out of a clear sky an event, or series of events, which utterly shattered the pattern which had originated in the prayer closet. Like the Emmaus disciples we were disheartened. What had taken place did not make any more sense to us than it had to them.

This perennial situation is admittedly a complex one. Yet even such a mystery never amounts to utter dark-

ness. It points to a kind of light which increases in intensity as we dwell on it with ardor and fervor—two words incidentally, which suggest burning and heat. Bunyan's Interpreter might accordingly tell us that the work of Grace is involved at this point.

I

We are indeed not left in utter darkness.

This much we already know: God has a plan for our life. And further: God knows that we need to know something of this plan, were it only because his call may imply even a minimum of preparation on our part. Thus the reason you have spent three years in this seminary is that the call to the ministry or to Christian education had come to you in the fullness of time.

Even so, we may be startled at realizing that the New Testament has next to nothing to say about the ways of ascertaining God's will for one's life—a major concern for us, yet one seemingly unknown to the early Christians. In the Gospel according to Mark, we read that Jesus passing along the Sea of Galilee saw Simon and his brother Andrew casting a net. So he said to them simply, "Follow me and I will make you fish for men." At once, we are told, they dropped their net and went after him. You and I would have immediately inquired as to the where and how of the call. They did not. Neither did Jesus elaborate on the subject. It was only in the long run, as necessity or even emergency arose, that he told them what to do. The enigmatic passage of John 21 :18 may suggest that Jesus gave Peter a hint as to how he would die; yet there is nowhere a similar indication of how he would live. None of us, I am sure, would construe as such the answer of Jesus to him at Caesarea Philippi, "upon this rock I will build my church." Neither should we take argument from the assertion that preaching in those days was a much simpler affair than it is today. In God's design, mind you, Peter was to proclaim the Christ in and around Jerusalem. Now turn to the Book of the Acts, and see for yourself what it meant to deal with those well-trained Jewish officials! Yet even with such a task ahead of him, Peter was not given any blueprint.

The disciples may indeed have learned from the Master, not to make inquiries about the future. By this I mean such inquiries as those currently foremost in our minds today. Texts abound to that effect. If it be said that the Sermon on the Mount constitutes the systematic arrangement of the teaching of Jesus, it becomes evident that utter trust in the Father's care was the only needed cure for anxiety, "Take no thought for your life. . . . Your heavenly father knoweth. . . . Take no thought for the morrow. . . ." All we have to ask for is summed up in the petition of the Lord's Prayer, "Give us to-day our bread for the morrow." This Moffatt translation places the emphasis where it belongs. Tomorrow constitutes our horizon. And there is far more at stake in this emphasis than a suggestion of "interim ethic," as we begin to realize. The right attitude to which Jesus is constantly pointing, is that of the centurion who knows that a man under authority merely does what he is told to do on the spur of the moment. The Master singles him out for praise: "Truly, I say to you, not even in Israel have I found such faith." A faith, that is, that does not ask long-range questions. And when on rare oc-

casions such questions were put to Jesus, the questioner was rebuked. This was the case when Peter asked the risen Lord what would happen to John, only to be told: "What is that to you?"—which freely translated in contemporary American reads: "That is none of your business!"

My excuse for indulging in such a free translation from this pulpit is that we all need to be aroused into a consciousness of our true condition as disciples. Our activity and our ways of thinking are to a high degree determined by our own presuppositions, by those we owe to our traditional views, and also by the collective notions we share with our contemporaries. We know all this but only with what John Baillie would call, "the top of our mind." It is well nigh impossible for us to see it the way it really is. Thus when George Muller formulated his rules on how to ascertain the will of God, he gave priority to the need for seeking "to get my heart into such a state that it has no will of its own in regard to a given matter." I doubt that contemporary psychoanalysts would pronounce this first article possible of achievement. Even so, what is of special interest to us is that the experienced man of prayer George Muller so evidently was, insisted that *nine-tenths* of the trouble with most of us is just here.

And so it was with the first disciples. Thus Mark shows the sons of Zebedee advancing their claim to the seats they meant to occupy in the Lord's glory. They could not help but be obsessed by preconceptions born of the later Jewish view of the advent of the kingdom of God. No wonder the arrest of Jesus and his ghastly crucifixion struck them with panic and despair. Hence the loss of nerve of the Emmaus disciples. They had trusted that he would be the redeemer of Israel according to the currently held view of the event. Actually the high priests and the rulers had delivered him to be sentenced to death and had him crucified. He had been dead for three days. Heed now the radical change of outlook forced upon the downcast disciples.

Upon hearing them bewail the collapse of their dreams, Jesus called them fools. Then he interpreted to them the passages referring to himself throughout the scriptures. The Germans have a word to characterize the thing the Emmaus pilgrims were now asked to do. That word is, *umlernen*—to learn the other way around. The reason they had erred was that their expectations had ultimately been their own, while the God of Jesus Christ is shown throughout the Bible to be the Great Doer of the unexpected.

II

This truly bewildering characteristic comes to an early expression in the "scandal of particularity" which stares us in the face from the very core of Scripture. It actually constitutes the significance of the Bible, namely that God's revelation has been conveyed through historical events concerning a chosen people. This is all the more unexpected as we consider on the one hand the holy, all wise, all powerful nature of God, and on the other, the stubborn, crafty, and even treacherous character of Israel, together with its social and political insignificance. And yet the choice, however incredible, comes to pass with the call of Abraham.

The dimension of the unexpected overlays even this scandal of particularity. The very ways of God disclose it at every turn of events. Consider for

example the very Act through which a mass of depressed serfs are delivered out of their Egyptian servitude in the midst of truly epic events. Again, think of the unexpected appearance of the sea-roving Philistines threatening the confederation of the clans of Israel, or of the sordid spectacle of the foolish, and even criminal Israelites under Jeroboam II. Or pause to understand why God should have troubled to send Amos to those adulterous deniers of all justice, in the midst of fraud and perjury? To turn to yet another aspect of the unexpected, why should such a man as Hosea have had to cope with an unfaithful wife, or a John the Baptist have fallen victim to the sadism of Herod? If God is the Almighty, how may we account for the fact that Jeremiah's exultant joy at Josiah's reform should so soon have turned to gloom, as the shrines and idols of yesterday seemed to have only been removed to make room for Temple worship and the trappings of its ritual? Why should *Cyrus* have been the instrument of the exiles' mighty deliverance from Babylon? And subsequently, how may one explain the utter lack of compassion shown by Israel in the face of pagan darkness, as exemplified in the Book of Jonah?

And yet, withal, the Great Doer of the unexpected stands also revealed as showing forth an infinite steadiness of purpose, doing for man what man could never do for himself. What actually hides such steadiness is the fact of an infinite variety of response on the part of God. This further aspect also should have been evident to the Emmaus disciples. The point I am anxious to make, however, is that to us the New Testament bears the same witness as does the Old to the ways of the living God who stands at the roaring loom of history.

What should particularly draw our attention as Christians is the unexpected nature of the manner in which He wrought out his purpose in the ministry of our Lord. People came to Jesus to see a wonder worker. They were actually confronted by God's will for them. The ecclesiastics of the time should have been expected to do their utmost to help Jesus. Yet the most violent opposition he encountered came from them, so that they were singled out by him for utter condemnation. And so it had been with the "unexpected" as a dimension of the disciples' experience. Their anticipation of the glory at hand had come to naught on Calvary. They were left in utter despondency as we have insistently pointed out. And yet, in the power of God, their fellowship with the Lord would be restored to them a hundredfold in the glow of Easter morn. Ever afterwards disciples would be in closer fellowship with the living and ever present Christ than the first disciples had been in the days of his flesh. Another extraordinary turn of history would transform Saul, the ruthless prosecutor of the Gentiles into Paul, the greatest missionary the Christian cause has ever hailed. In vain had the high priest and Pilate his accomplice tried to annihilate the small sect. Henceforth the Gospel would spread over the Western world like a prairie fire. The Palestinian confinement had burst wide open, so that the formerly Jewish context of New Testament Christianity had become an imperial context. How different from the expectation of the Emmaus disciples the fulfillment turned out to be! And so,

we feel prompted to exclaim with the Psalmist:

Thou art the god that does wonders . . .

The Christ was no longer limited as he had been in the days of his flesh. So also the overseas Jews were free from the narrow exclusiveness of their Jerusalem brethren. As for the Gentiles, they knew of no such restrictive influences. The Gospel message itself had been released from binding Hebrew connotations. It is as if God's imperatives, or at least his earnest entreaties had become transfigured into supremely responsive ways of persuasion. Only a reverent survey of the development of hymnology and devotional classics, better still, of the biographies of saintly, committed lives throughout the Christian era, could begin to do justice to the fullness of divine response.

Truly the ways of God are mediated to us throughout the ages as those of the Great Doer of the unexpected.

III

Let me ask you, my friends, in conclusion: Should any of us keep on contending with these ways in the face of the steadiness of a purpose disclosed over thousands of years? Or is it not simply that the very infinity of divine response exposes our human infirmity? What actually causes our consternation is that we never can secure from God, even through prayer and entreaty, the long-range assignment we so direly crave. What we actually want is a blueprint for our lives, one that we could slip into our pocket and walk away with, on our own.

Should this ever be the case, should this baleful privilege be granted to us, then the whole record of God's dealings with his people throughout the ages would indeed be given the lie. For if there is even one single truth this record conveys, this truth is to the effect that God never gives a blueprint to anyone.

The reason for this should by now have become clear to the unprejudiced reader of the Bible: the heavenly Father acts as if he did not want his own to part ways with him, to become engrossed in the glory of their self-sufficiency until they finally end in the dejection of the far country. Quite otherwise. He wants them to grow into a loving dependence upon him, to foster in their whole being an utter trust in his infinite Providence.

Members of the Graduating Class, may this truth break upon you as it did of old upon the Emmaus disciples, when Jesus finally sat at meat with them. Looking at the Communion Table, I see a further analogy yet between their condition and yours. Let me then conclude as the record of their immediate experience concludes in the Gospel according to Luke:

"And it came to pass, as he sat at meat with them, he took bread, and blessed it, and brake, and gave to them. And their eyes were opened, and they knew him. . ."

And they knew him. Did you say you were looking for the way you must go? He is the way. But you must always depend on him for the next step, and be prepared for the unexpected.

THE GOSPEL OF THOMAS

Otto A. Piper

The wide publicity given to the manuscripts found in the caves around Qumran (the so-called Dead Sea Scrolls) has distracted the attention from a simultaneous discovery, which in many respects is of infinitely greater significance for our knowledge of the Early Church and the making of the New Testament than the manuscripts from the Judaean desert. In 1945 or 1946, peasants unearthed near Nag Hamadi in Upper Egypt, the ancient Chenoboskion, a jar which contained forty-four books in Coptic language, neatly bound together in thirteen volumes and in leather cover, and in their majority in excellent condition. In view of the fact that the larger portion of written material that the sand of Egypt has yielded to archaeologists consists of relatively small fragments, the completeness of the Coptic books was by itself a sensational event. As usual in the Near East, the people who discovered the manuscripts did not offer them to the government, as prescribed by law, but rather sold them underhanded to antique dealers. It required two years of strenuous efforts and detective-like searches until the whole collection finally landed in the Coptic Museum in Cairo, with the exception of one volume, which was smuggled out of the country and is now in Zurich.

The manuscripts are all written in Coptic, the form which the Egyptian language assumed in the early times of the Christian era. Since the type of the handwriting points to the third and fourth centuries, the jar was probably hidden away at the beginning of the fifth century. A preliminary investigation disclosed the fact that without exception all the works contained in the receptacle were religious in character, and represented gnostic doctrines. Since the region, in which the treasure was found, was the locality in which Egyptian monasticism originated under Pachomius in the second half of the fourth century, and since the Egyptian monks are well known for their defense of orthodoxy, we may guess that the head of a small group of gnostics buried their library in order to escape persecution.

A cursory perusal of the whole collection by several Egyptian and French scholars showed the surprising fact that it consisted of works, many of which had been known by title from the writings of the anti-gnostic Church Fathers, whereas other titles had never been heard of. In view of the relatively small number of scholars who know the Coptic language, the publication of this material proceeds but slowly. But there can be no doubt concerning the enormous significance of these books. Until recently, the gnostic movement, which in the second and third centuries threatened to disrupt the Church, was known to us almost exclusively from the picture which its opponents had drawn. Since it is well known that polemics tend to distort the views of the people under attack, modern scholars were rather sceptical as to the historical value of these Christian orthodox sources. Three original texts in the Coptic language had come to light since the middle of the nineteenth cen-

tury. But quite apart from their late date their abstruse symbolism seemed to frustrate the endeavors to interpret them intelligently.

The first of the newly discovered texts to be published was the *Jung Codex* in Zurich, which the editors ascribed to Valentinus, one of the originators of Christian gnosticism of the first half of the second century. They believed the manuscript to be his *Gospel of Truth*.[1] While this view is not shared by all scholars, there can be no doubt concerning the historical significance of this work. It comes very close to traditional Christianity and shows familiarity with the New Testament Gospels. We characterize it best as a hymn, which describes the blessedness of the man, who through Jesus has been enabled to find the way to himself. He had been alienated from himself because being attached to this world he was ignorant of his true existence.

The next book soon to be published is the *Gospel of Thomas*. Its literary character differs considerably from the preceding one. While in the *Gospel of Truth* a gnostic leader described the way to true life, the *Gospel of Thomas* consists of more than one hundred short sayings, which in their majority begin with the clause "Jesus said," or they pretend to give a statement made by Jesus when asked by his disciples to instruct them on a doubtful point. While the title given at the end of the manuscript calls the book "The Gospel according to Thomas," the introductory statement indicates clearly that the term "Gospel" is not used here in the New Testament way. The complete absence of stories about Jesus shows more conspicuously than in the *Gospel of Truth* that *evangelion* is in this type of literature a designation of "secret sayings which the living Jesus spoke" and which make sense for those only who are able to interpret them. The expression "the living Jesus" does not point to the historical Jesus, however, but rather, as other gnostic documents show, to a heavenly being, who for some while lived on earth and who after his departure remained in contact with his followers as the Revealer. On this basis, the *Gospel of Thomas* does not differentiate between sayings uttered by Jesus during his earthly ministry, on the one hand, and other spiritual insights, which the initiates received and which they ascribed to the operation of the heavenly Jesus, on the other. This view explains the literary character of the whole book. Side by side with sayings which are known to us from the Gospels or which, while not recorded therein, may nevertheless go back to Jesus, we find a considerable number of others, which are found in apocryphal Christian Gospels and Acts, and some can definitely be ascribed to non-Christian authors.

This concept of the "good news" as a collection of enigmatic sayings requiring an interpretation is not by itself a heretical perversion, however. The introductory phrase of the *Gospel of Thomas* throws new light on a puzzling remark made by Papias, a Christian leader in Asia Minor in the first half of the second century. Concerning the evangelist Matthew he wrote: "Matthew composed (or published) a collection of the sayings (*logia*) in the Hebrew dialect, and everybody *hermeneuse* according to his ability." The verb *hermeneueien* may mean both 'to translate' and 'to interpret.'

[1] Michel Malinine, Henri-Charles Puech, Gilles Quispel, ed., *Evangelium Veritatis*. Zurich 1956.

Usually it has been understood here in the former sense. But since Papias himself was the author of five volumes of 'exegesis' of sayings of Jesus, his statement is more likely to mean that for the Primitive Church the story of Jesus presented no special problem, while they discovered a depth of meaning in his sayings, which was not easily probed.

In our days, people usually take the opposite view. They do not suspect any deeper meaning in the sayings of Jesus, the reason being that our interest dwells almost invariably on the moral commandments given by Jesus. The Primitive Church, however, realized that the things Jesus was talking about were not found in the world of daily experience but were *mysteria* (e.g. Mk. 4:11-12). Between man and God there are a number of stages or layers of reality. The early Church agreed with the Gnostics in that respect. But whereas the Gnostics interpreted these layers of reality in psychological terms as an hierarchy of mental faculties, the supreme of which was identical with the activity of the divine origin in man, the Church started from the idea of a divine creator. Accordingly they differentiated between a heavenly and an earthly reality, and a number of graded intermediaries between God and man each of which being endowed with a specific power. The *Gospel of Truth* discloses its gnostic character frankly by discussing man's ability to become aware of the supranatural powers of his mind. The meaning of the *Gospel of Thomas* is not so obvious. We may safely presume that, nevertheless, at least in its final stage, it was understood in the same way as the *Gospel of Truth.* However what it actually provides are but the signs and symbols of this higher wisdom, while the disclosure of their meaning was probably reserved to oral instruction.

The *Gospel of Thomas* was originally written in Greek. The superscription and the first six sayings, and again Nos. 27-34 and 77b are in literal agreement with two Greek fragments of the third century, which Bernard P. Grenfell and Arthur S. Hunt discovered in the neighborhood of a Chenoboskion, where our Coptic text was found. They were published in 1897 and 1903 respectively and are commonly known as the *Oxyrhynchus Papyri.* The great value of the Coptic text can be seen in the fact now established beyond doubt, that all the former attempts to supplement the missing words of the Greek fragments were utterly mistaken. All the inferences drawn from those reconstructions have to be abandoned, whereas the Coptic text enables us to gain a reliable view of the ideas contained in this collection.

While the Greek text makes certain that a portion of this book was known as the *Gospel of Thomas* to Greek-speaking Christians in Egypt we cannot be so positive that the Coptic text consists merely of a translation of this original Greek work. Sayings 57 and 80, e.g. are doublets. In both instances Jesus is quoted as saying, "He who recognized the world discovered it to be a corpse; and he who has found the corpse, of him the world is not worthy." The only difference between the two sayings lies in the Coptic words used for 'corpse.' A similar relation prevails between sayings Nos. 49 and 103, where 'concord' is described as the means by which one will be able to command a mountain to be turned, and this will happen. In other literary works of a similar kind, the occurrence of such parallels is an indication that different

sources have been merged. Since a few sayings only of the Greek text are preserved and we do not know when the Coptic translation was made, we have the choice between two alternatives. The Greek text may have been less than one-half of the present Coptic text, and Coptic collectors may have added to it from other sources. But I am inclined to think that prior to the Coptic translation the original Greek text had already been enlarged by later additions from other sources. What we know thus far of the material from Chenoboskion makes one think that the Copts did little more than translate a Greek text, whereas the original and creative work, including the preparation of such a collection of sayings, goes back to Greek-speaking people.

Another reason that gives weight to this view is the very nature of the materials gathered in the *Gospel of Thomas*. The information we have about the historical development of Gnosticism seems to indicate that the men of the third and fourth century were addicted to complicated speculations concerning the higher ranges of the human soul and that they wrote in a rather prolix style. This contrasts with the brief aphorisms of the *Gospel of Thomas* as well as with the love of narrative details found particularly in the parables. The possibility to find material like ours would be considerably greater in the second than in the third century, and the origin of the *Gospel of Thomas* is therefore best dated at around A.D. 150.

But where did the author(s) of the *Gospel of Thomas* find their material? Some scholars are confident that a portion of it goes back to the oral tradition of the Primitive Church. We know that not all the sayings of Jesus were recorded in our Gospels, as is evidenced e.g. by Acts 20:35. It is safe to assume that when the evangelists composed the Gospels in their present form they selected from the circulating material what seemed to agree best with their view of the Gospel. No wonder that each of them should have a good deal for which there are no parallels in the other Synoptists. The very fact that some of the sayings in the *Gospel of Thomas* agree more or less verbally with the canonical Gospels seems to convey considerable plausibility to the hypothesis that other sayings of similar diction and subject matter found in this book might also be genuine utterances of Jesus. We know from the church fathers that the Jewish Christians in particular cherished all kinds of sayings of Jesus, for which the Gentile church showed little interest. There is good reason for assuming that one group of sayings in the *Gospel of Thomas* goes back to that section of the Primitive Church.

Thus when Paul (I Cor. 2:9) refers to "what eye has not seen and ear has not heard, etc.," as a word of Scripture, we wonder whether he did not have in mind a collection of sayings of Jesus, of which No. 17 of the *Gospel of Thomas* was one. There we read, "Jesus said, I shall give you what no eye has seen, and no ear has heard, and no hand has touched, and which has not entered into the heart of man." Or take No. 26 which reads, "Jesus said, love your brother like your soul, keep him like the apple of your eye," or No. 82, in which Jesus is saying, "He who is close to me, is close to the fire, and he who is away from me is away from the kingdom." In the latter case, where both the antithetical parallelism of members and the reference to

the kingdom point to Jewish authorship, the hypothesis of *agrapha*, i.e. genuine words of Jesus not recorded in our gospels, is particularly suggestive. Add to this the fact that a number of alleged sayings of Jesus, which the ancient church fathers mentioned as being read in various heretical works, are recorded in the *Gospel of Thomas* and one is easily inclined to consider them as genuine sayings of Jesus, which by some incident or on account of their obscurity were not incorporated into the Synoptic Gospels, but were held in high esteem in other circles because people discovered in them a deeper meaning.

Yet every generalization is out of place in dealing with the materials of the *Gospel of Thomas* because they are of such a heterogeneous character. This is obvious as soon as we turn to the parables of Jesus. In addition to the seven parables in Matt. 13 we encounter the parable of the Banquet, of the Wicked Husbandmen and of the Lost Sheep. One might at first be inclined to consider certain stylistic features found in our gospel as evidences of an early date, e.g. when the Sower is realistically described as filling his hand and broadcasting the seed, or when in the parable of the Wicked Husbandmen the lord of the vineyard attempts to explain and excuse the bad treatment given to his servant by saying, "Perhaps they did not recognize him." Particularly interesting for their social details are the reasons that in the parable of the Banquet the unwilling guests give in order to be excused.

However, careful comparison of the parables in the *Gospel of Thomas* with those in the Synoptists leads to an interesting result. The Coptic text in all likelihood goes back to the Synoptic Gospels themselves rather than to the oral tradition which underlies the text of the Synoptists. What at first sight seem to merely verbal differences turn out at close inspection to be deliberate alterations of the text. The narratives have been revised in order to bring out the secret meaning which the Gnostics discovered therein. The graphic description of the Sower filling his hand is probably an indication of the abundance of the spiritual gifts. Omissions and condensations in other parables serve to bring out the desired emphasis. In the Parable of the Tares, e.g., the servants are not mentioned, but simply referred to as 'they,' while instead of pressing the contrast between the lord and the servants as is done in Matt. 13:24-30, the farmer says here, "lest *we* pull out the tares." The Parable of the Pearl is told in a manner which indicates that its meaning is the same as in the 'Hymn of the Pearl' in the apocryphal Acts of Thomas. It symbolizes the human soul or the self which had been lost in this world but has eventually been found again. Unlike the Synoptic parables, in which the logic of the story compels the reader to reach a conclusion concerning his relation to God's Kingdom, these same parables in their gnostic form are mere symbols of secret meanings.

In its present form the *Gospel of Thomas* contains references to all the books of the New Testament. In addition, there are non-canonical elements, however, which seem to point to Jewish Christians as originators of this work, or at least its nucleus. Most amazing is a saying in which the disciples are admonished, after the departure of Jesus to go to James the Righteous One, "for whose sake heaven and earth were made." He is obviously

considered as the representative of true humanhood. Like Jesus himself the *Gospel of Thomas* denounces the Pharisees as preventing people from entering the kingdom. Jewish also is the interest in fasting, praying, almsgiving and the keeping of the Sabbath which are referred to in several sayings. Yet they are interpreted far beyond the realism of the Sermon on the Mount in a purely spiritualistic way. Two central terms of the way of salvation are also Jewish. The goal is commonly described as the rest (*anapausis*), a view which in an un-Hellenic way presupposes that activity is the nature of life. Furthermore the prerequisite for moving towards the goal is the knowledge of the 'place' (*topos*), i.e. of the unshakeable and solid foundation, from which in a world of flux the believer can set out in search of his goal. This view presupposes the Jewish understanding of faith as an act of establishing oneself upon God, the Rock or the *maggom* according to the rabbis. Typically Jewish is finally the last saying (No. 112) in which Peter wants to exclude women from the disciples' fellowship because "women are not worthy of life."

However, these specifically Jewish elements are transcended, e.g. when the prophets, who had spoken of Jesus, are disparaged as the 'dead ones,' or when the only circumcision which profits is said to be one in the Spirit. The emphasis is placed on truthfulness and brotherly love. All this looks as though the *Gospel of Thomas* went back to a Jewish Christian group, probably in Egypt, who for their teaching relied originally on the oral tradition of the Primitive Church, yet made their own selection of sayings of Jesus. Though in the course of their history they became familiar with the whole New Testament, they did not adopt the Christian canon, but rather used it to supplement their collection of sayings. While the group may not have been gnostic from the outset, a speculative tendency seems to have prevailed in this group from its beginnings. This attitude made them willing eventually to adopt materials from non-Christian sources. In all likelihood, they leaned towards a Platonism similar to the type which in the third century became articulate in the neo-Platonic system of Plotinus. Sayings which must have originated in such non-Christian circles are, e.g. No. 18, in which the Disciples, who want information about the end, are told: "Jesus said: He who has the knowledge of the All and is deprived of it, has been deprived in every respect." Particularly characteristic of that school is their indifference concerning the particulars and categories, e.g. No. 23: "When you make one out of two, and when you make the inside like the outside, and the outside like the inside, and that which is above like that which is below, when you make a single thing out of the male and the female, so that the male is not male and the female is not female . . . then you shall enter into the kingdom." Their interest, however, was practical rather than speculative. Since the goal is a state in which the Ego is entirely by itself, it is necessary for him to overcome the belief that the earthly differences are of any significance. While the group's disparagement of the world has its parallels in John and while the doctrine of the Christian indifference has its roots in Paul, these people seem to make an end in itself out of what in the New Testament is but a mental discipline for the attainment of the full

faith. They go beyond Paul, e.g., by discouraging sexual affection, and by rejecting the Jewish ritualism. Similarly, Paul's contrast of flesh and spirit is interpreted in an Hellenistic way as disregard for physical life. Similarly, whereas John considers the world as the battlefield upon which the powers of evil are to be overcome, the world is to them absolutely worthless. That is a view which when developed consistently implies the denial of a divine creator who made this world.

The *Gospel of Thomas* is particularly interesting for the history of the Primitive Church, because it shows how difficult it was for the early Christians to draw the dividing line between true and false belief. Though the *Gospel of Thomas* shows no interest in the Gospel story, Jesus is nevertheless interpreted as the one, who engenders the new life in his followers. As he is the Light his disciples are to become children of light. This is not a new idea, we find it not only in the Qumran literature but also as the message of Jesus both in the Synoptic Gospels and in John. But there is this difference, nevertheless, that the Jesus of this Gospel does not bring about the redemption of his followers by means of his life work, but rather by what he is. He is the Origin (*arche*) or the Father (!) Beyond this, however, we cannot tell, how far the group which was originally responsible for the earliest collection contained in this Gospel, was sure to find a secret and unorthodox meaning in the seemingly simple sayings of Jesus. That the book in its present form was interpreted so by the Gnostics in whose sacred library it was eventually incorporated, I have no doubt.

The purpose of Christian education has often been glibly and superficially described as "to teach people about God." In a deep sense, this *is* the purpose of Christian education. And if it is, then the Word of God—his telling us who he really is—is the very heart of it. And the theological witness to the Word is of major importance in enabling men to listen to the Word, understand, answer, and become and do what is demanded.

—D. Campbell Wyckoff, in *The Gospel and Christian Education*, Westminster Press, p. 100.

MODERN ISRAEL—MUSEUM AND MIRACLE

CHARLES T. FRITSCH

THIS past spring it was my privilege to spend two weeks in Israel making arrangements for an underwater archeological expedition which will start work in the harbor of Caesarea Maritima in the spring of 1960 under the direction of Mr. Edwin A. Link, famous inventor and deep sea explorer. During my brief stay in Israel I conferred with the archeologists of the Hebrew University, as well as with government officials, and visited many sites of historical and archeological interest. My trip was sponsored by the America-Israel Society, and the schedule of appointments and the itinerary were arranged by the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of the Israeli government. Let me say at the outset that everyone with whom I conferred in Israel was most cordial and helpful in every way, and I wish to thank not only those who made the trip possible, but also those who did so much to make it a success.

The main purpose of my journey, as I have already said, was to arrange for an underwater archeological expedition in the harbor of Caesarea which will take place in the spring of 1960. Mr. Link, who will lead this expedition, is the inventor of the famous Link trainer for fliers, a deep-sea explorer of note, and a Presbyterian layman. After having carried on extensive and fruitful explorations off the Florida Keys and in the Caribbean, Mr. Link is now planning to do undersea archeological work in Biblical waters. He has chosen to explore the Harbor of Caesarea where Herod the Great built a great breakwater out into the sea as a protection for ships. The breakwater was adorned with much statuary work among which were two huge colossi which guarded the outer entrance to the harbor. Because of earthquake activity and erosion down through the centuries all of this sculpture and stone work has been hurled into the sea. It is Mr. Link's hope to retrieve some of this material from the floor of the harbor.

To do this work Mr. Link has built a fabulous ship, Sea Diver II, which is equipped with electronic devices for detection purposes, diving and salvage gear, powerful hoses to blast sand and mud from sunken objects, and an "air lift" which can suck sand from the bottom of the harbor so that it can be strained and objects as small as pins can be removed from it. Sea Diver II, which is ninety-one feet long and weighs about two hundred tons, will be taken across the Atlantic to the coast of Israel on her own power next spring. She has two diesel engines and ample accommodations for fourteen. Mr. Link has personally asked the writer to be a member of the expedition, and it is hoped that Princeton Theological Seminary will be one of the sponsors.

The archeologists and government officials of Israel have been most generous in offering every kind of assistance to the expedition. Professor Mazar, President of the Hebrew University and a noted archeologist in his own right, was most helpful and cooperative in suggesting key personnel in Israel who will be able to help the expedition

in various ways. At a luncheon meeting with Professors Yadin, Avi-Yonah, Avigad and other members of the faculty of the Hebrew University, I was assured of the full support of the archeological department of the University. Dr. Yeivin, head of the Department of Antiquities in Israel, was most generous with his time and technical advice on legal matters regarding a "dig" in that land. He himself went with me to Caesarea to show me around and acquaint me with our base of operations. In Haifa I spent an interesting evening with members of a diving club, many of whom have dived at Caesarea and have seen large carved stones and pillars protruding from the floor of the harbor. Through newspaper, radio and personal interview the story of the Link expedition was told up and down the land of Israel, and everyone there is anxiously awaiting the arrival next spring of Sea Diver II.

When I was asked to go to Israel for the mission just described, I said I would go if I could also do some traveling in the land and see the Biblical sites. My request was granted far above my highest expectations. Provided with a government car and accompanied by a Foreign Office representative, I was shown Israel from Hazor in the north to Elat on the shores of the Red Sea. I am able here to describe just a few of the more important places that I visited.

Jerusalem (Israel), which was my headquarters during my stay in Israel, is of course practically devoid of any archeological interest at all since most of the religious sites associated with the city are across the border in Jerusalem (Jordan). One place of interest, however, is the new Hebrew University campus which is being carved out of the barren hills of Givath Ram to the west of the city. The old campus with its beautiful buildings is on Mt. Scopus, which, although technically Israeli territory, is inaccessible because it is surrounded by Jordan. Among the thirty buildings of the new campus which seem to grow out of the hills is a new library, nearly completed. A special wing of this structure will be called "The Shrine of the Book" where the Dead Sea Scrolls that Israel has will be scientifically preserved and exhibited to the public.

After a strenuous week of conferences, interviews and social engagements in Jerusalem, we went north to spend a restful weekend along the shores of the Sea of Galilee. On the way we visited Caesarea Maritima and Haifa which is Israel's main seaport at the base of Mt. Carmel. Elijah seems quite lost in the hustle and bustle of modern Haifa, although there is a cave nearby which he visits every Friday according to Moslem tradition. The Sea of Galilee, which nestles like a diamond among the mighty hills of Galilee, is a resort spot today for modern Israelis. Nearby are sites which thrill the heart of every believer—Capernaum, Tiberias, Nazareth, Cana, and so on. We went to church on Sunday morning in Nazareth, attending a Baptist mission service for Arabs which was conducted by the Rev. Mr. Baker, who received his Th.M. from Princeton Theological Seminary. In this third city most holy to the Christian in the Holy Land the Roman Catholics are planning to build a $2,000,000 church on the site of the Annunciation where the angel Gabriel is said to have told the Virgin Mary, "Thou shalt conceive in thy womb and bring forth a son, and shalt call him Jesus" (Luke 1:31).

The Jerusalem YMCA, by the way, is also putting on a campaign for $50,000 to build a Youth Center in Nazareth for the Arab young people of the city.

On Sunday afternoon we traveled north to Hazor, a Biblical mound which is being excavated by Professor Yigael Yadin. Hazor was one of the most important Palestinian cities of antiquity, being mentioned in pre-Biblical documents from Egypt, Palestine and Mesopotamia. It also figured prominently in the days of Joshua (Josh. 11:10-11), Solomon (I Kings 9:15), and Pekah (II Kings 15:29). The city lay about nine miles north of the Sea of Galilee astride the great military road from Egypt to Mesopotamia. During his excavation of the site Professor Yadin has already uncovered twenty-three separate civilizations, including a city built by Solomon 2900 years ago. Also a Canaanite temple from the 13th century B.C. which is clearly a prototype of Solomon's temple, built several centuries later. This is by far the most important Biblical site being excavated in Israel today.

After returning to Jerusalem for a few days we set out for a visit to the southern part of Israel—Beer-sheba, the Negev, and the Gulf of Aqabah, which is the eastern arm of the Red Sea. Beer-sheba, which is the gateway to the Negev, is a strange combination of the ancient and the modern. A few years ago it was a small village of some five thousand people—the center of trade for the thousands of bedouin who live in the Negev to the south. Today Beer-sheba is a bustling, thriving city of forty thousand people with modern factories, hotels, apartments, schools and homes, and a railroad station which marks the end of the line from Tel Aviv. Yet amidst this pulsating modernity there is a bedouin market every Thursday morning where the nomads from the desert trade their camels and wool, using bartering methods and rounded stone weights like their ancestors thousands of years before them. About a mile out of the old city along the bank of the Wadi Sab'a lies one of the most interesting archeological sites in the Holy Land. Here Jean Perrot, director of the French Archeological Mission to Israel, has discovered remains of a Chalcolithic culture (4000 B.C.) which flourished two thousand years before Abraham planted his tamarisk tree in this place (Gen. 21:33). An underground village has been discovered with dwellings and storerooms joined by connecting tunnels. Entrance to this labyrinthian complex was gained either through vertical shafts or through sloping tunnels. The people of this culture engaged in an advanced copper industry and made excellently shaped basalt bowls and pottery vessels. But most striking of all was a horde of finely wrought ivory jewelry and implements discovered in these subterranean chambers which reveal a high level of civilization. Who these people were is not yet known, but it is quite clear that they were intruders who came upon the Palestinian scene as suddenly as they disappeared from it.

After leaving Beer-sheba we traveled straight down the Negev for one hundred and fifty miles on a newly built road to the Red Sea. In this fierce and barren desert we saw *kibbutzim* (communities)—in one of these Ben Gurion has his home, cultivated areas along wadi beds where dams and terraced slopes built by the Nabateans two thousand years ago are still being used, and even archeological activity at a site like Abdah where several mag-

nificent Byzantine churches are being restored out of the jumbled mass of rocks and debris. After eating lunch at a wayside stand near Wadi Raman, an ancient crater in the desert floor which forms one of the scenic wonders of the Negev, we pushed on to Elat on the shores of the Red Sea. Here again we witnessed the tremendous energy of this little country. Five years ago Elat consisted of a few mud brick hovels, the remnants of a British military outpost. After the Sinai campaign three years ago and the opening up of the Gulf of Aqabah to shipping—United Nations troops now guard the Straits of Teheran to allow shipping to pass through—Elat has become a flourishing seaport with a population of 6000. It boasts modern shipping facilities with navy installations, an airport, a new hotel on the strand, and rows upon rows of family dwellings. This area is famous historically as the site of Solomon's copper mines and the smelter he had built to reduce the ore. Today, just a few miles north of Elat, a giant modern copper smelter has been built by German reparation money, and copper lodes, thought too lean by Solomon's men, are now being exploited by modern Israeli miners. A dip in the blue waters of the Red Sea is most refreshing after a six-hour dash over the desert, and a ride on a glass bottom boat gives one a thrilling picture of the many forms of marine life in these tropical waters. Flying back to Tel Aviv over the Negev provides a new vista of this barren wilderness. Twisting wadis torturously mutilate the landscape; high mountain crags push up from the eternal wasteland; the black sprawling tents of the bedouin dot the sandy dunes like flies. Here Abraham wandered four thousand years ago in search for the true God and a better way of life. Here his descendants—Moses, David, the early Christians—have followed in his footsteps of faith to a fuller knowledge of the One he sought.

Israel today is truly a museum and a miracle. Deeply cognizant of the past, it is using every resource and bending every effort in building for the future. Everybody in Israel it seems is an amateur archeologist. The Bible is being read and studied by individuals and small groups all over Israel today, not for spiritual reasons necessarily, but rather as a guidebook to the land and its hidden treasures. We pray that God will use this renewed interest in the Bible to open the eyes of His people to their true spiritual destiny.

The one word which characterizes the modern miracle of Israel is vitality. Wherever one goes one feels the presence of boundless energy and tremendous power which is being unleashed in every phase of life. There is the intellectual vitality of the technical schools of Haifa, and of the universities in Tel Aviv and Jerusalem; and there is the vitality that erects massive buildings and makes the desert blossom like a rose. And yet beneath this show of power and strength one detects a feeling of uneasiness and uncertainty about the future. There is always present the fear of being engulfed by a hostile Arab world which looks upon the state of Israel as an intruder. Yet, however much one may sympathize with the Arab refugees or condemn political Zionism as a true expression of Judaism, modern Israel is a fact; it is on the map, and it will not be pushed into the sea without world repercussions. Just a few yards of rubble and rubbish, three hundred and fifty miles

long, separate Jew from Arab as effectively as an iron curtain. No-man's land in Jerusalem has made the city of peace a city of hatred and fear and unbearable tension. What can be done about this tragic situation?

With renewed anguish of heart as I visited the broken city of Jerusalem again, I turned to the Book of Psalms and reread those poignant words of the temple poet:

"Pray for the peace of Jerusalem!
'May they prosper who love you!
Peace be within your walls,
and security within your towers!'
For my brethren and companions' sake
I will say, 'Peace be within you!'
For the sake of the house of the Lord our God,
I will seek your good" (122:6-9).

If there is any solution at all to this tragic situation in the Holy Land it seems to me it must be found in and through the Christian Church, and above all through Christian individuals who can and will be friendly to both Jew and Arab, and point them by word and example to the Prince of Peace who loves all men.

THE PREACHER'S BOOKSHELF

Books of sermons no longer occupy best-seller lists and therefore preachers are buying them with more caution and discrimination. Among the titles which have appeared this season, the most thoughtful are *Out of Nazareth*, by Donald M. Baillie (Saint Andrew Press) and *Sermons Preached in a University Chapel*, by George A. Buttrick (Abingdon Press). Readers of Baillie's great essay on Christology, *God Was in Christ*, and his other book of sermons, *To Whom Shall We Go?*, will find in this second volume the same well-balanced "thinking through" of the implications of the Christian experience. Dr. Buttrick's book does not make easy reading. It is quite different from his earlier volumes, especially *The Parables of Jesus* and *Jesus Came Preaching*. In this new volume we have Buttrick facing the challenge of a great secular university and using their language to speak prophetically to their situation.

Another book of sermons from abroad is *Living in Depth*, by James Reid (Saint Andrew Press). It consists of a recent compilation of addresses printed originally in *The British Weekly*. Its title suggests the general theme: Christians "can break through the frustrations of our time by learning to live in depth." Those who know the writings and career of Joseph Parker, the great preacher of London's City Temple over a half century ago, will welcome the reprinting under an attractive format of his 28-volume *The People's Bible*. His discussions of Scripture are rich and suggestive. Preachers will benefit from careful use of this series. The new title is *Preaching Through the Bible* (Baker Book House).

Two books by younger Presbyterian ministers are of more than usual value and interest. Frederick B. Speakman has given us another book of sermons in the same original and refreshing vein that marks all his writings. *Love Is Something You Do* (Revell's) is a joy to read and at the same time is as enlightening a criticism of contemporary life as one can find. *The Power of God in a Parish Program*, by Joseph E. McCabe (Westminster Press) is one of the finest pieces of writing of its kind to appear among a score of other titles. Every preacher, whether young or old, should buy it, study it, and have his laymen read it too. The role of the parish minister is unfolded within the context of a concrete situation. It is written with humility, but with point and purpose. By far one of the best books on the working and witnessing ministry to appear in recent years! D.M.

PROTESTANTISM AND THE CONSTITUTIONAL PROBLEM

James H. Nichols

The comprehensive theme for today's discussions is the American pattern of church and state, or state and synagogue relations.

It has been suggested that this initial presentation should start from the relevant provisions of the Federal Constitution and proceed to define the theological presuppositions upon which Protestantism came to accept the system defined by this constitution.

The three relevant original clauses of the Federal Constitution are familiar to all: the prohibition of religious tests for federal office, the prohibition against federal legislation on the subject of establishments of religion, and the prohibition against federal legislation in restraint of the free exercise of religion. Of these the last mentioned is the most general and the most fundamental.

It is important to remember in this connection, however, that the total legal pattern of church-state relations in America was and is considerably more complicated than these clauses would indicate. The Constitution and statutes of the several states also deal with these questions. When the Federal Constitution was adopted nearly half the states had establishments and practically all had religious tests for office, and some still do. The Federal Constitution defined the relation of the religious bodies only to the one category of federal government. And at the beginning of our national life the federal government occupied a much less prominent role in the total complex of governmental bodies than has since come to be the case. In the four generations since, all the state establishments have gone together with most of the religious tests for state office-holders. The extent of change in the church-state pattern is perhaps illustrated most dramatically by new applications in our own generation of the 14th Amendment to this matter. The first Amendment, originally drafted, among other things, to protect state establishments of religion from congressional interference has now been reinterpreted by the application of the 14th Amendment so as, in the opinion of some at least, to debar the states from instituting such establishments. And American customs and attitudes have so changed that this radical reinterpretation of the First Amendment by the Supreme Court is generally accepted.

Through all this complicated and changing body of constitutional provisions, judicial interpretations and statutes, however, one consistent theme can be traced. There has been an effective consensus from the beginning, even in the states with establishments, that the free exercise of religion is desirable and right. The limits were sometimes drawn more narrowly than would today be the case, but the strongest religious bodies in the country affirmed this right at the beginning of our national life, not merely on grounds of practical political prudence, but out of religious conviction. They did not do

so unanimously, of course, but this conviction was strong enough to neutralize and overcome residual theological resistance to the establishment of the right of religious liberty in American basic law. There were very strong practical arguments for at least an armed religious truce, a policy of live and let live, but without an effective widespread affirmation of religious liberty as a *right* I do not believe such a religious truce would have originated or maintained the actual system of church state relations which we know. This metaphysical or theological grounding for religious liberty has usually been played down in constitutional debate, where the effort is constantly made to find a common ground on the merely political level with the large Roman Catholic and secularist contingents who repudiate this theological grounding. But as a matter of history there was here something deeper than a political mechanism.

This argument from the history of ideas and institutions is supported by juridical practice and experience. The term and conception of "separation" have been widely used in discussions of the First Amendment, although the word is not itself found in the Constitution. But, as has been noted by a distinguished jurist,[1] "The trouble with the 'separation' concept is . . . that on debatable questions the analysis of this concept has little light to throw. . . . In determining the limits of constitutional separation, it is the concept of religious freedom which provides the criterion. The principle of church state separation is an instrumental principle. Separation ordinarily promotes religious freedom; it is defensible so long as it does so, and only as long (96f). The basic American principle of church-state relations is not separation but religious liberty" (115).

We turn then from the definition of the basic principle of American church-state relations to the question of the theological grounds on which Protestantism supported it. It is appropriate that a Protestant presentation be made this morning before the comparable Roman Catholic and Jewish statements. The constitutional arrangement was originally made by an overwhelmingly Protestant society. The significant advocates and opponents were alike Protestant. It is no longer merely a Protestant conception, but its original meaning and intent can only be understood in terms of Protestant theology. Roman Catholics, Jews, and secularists thereafter had to reinterpret it in relation to their presuppositions.

We should be more specific. The American system of church-state relations is to be understood against one specific type of Protestantism. Classical Lutheranism and Anglicanism could not have produced anything of this sort. Their original pattern of church-state relations was that of the first Christian state of history, that of Constantine, and meant the effective control of the church by the godly prince. Lutherans and high Anglicans had no more precedents in their own tradition for coming to terms with the pluralistic American situation than did Roman Catholics.

In fact, however, Lutherans, high Anglicans and Roman Catholics were negligible in numbers and influence in the Revolutionary generation in America. The four largest religious bodies were a closely related family all deriv-

[1] W. J. Katz, in *Religion in America*, ed. J. Cooley, Meridian Books, 1958.

ing from the Puritan movement of 17th century England: the Congregationalists, Presbyterians, Baptists, and predominantly Puritan Anglicans. They differed among themselves in matters of worship and polity, but in theological and ethical matters they were generally of that Puritan stamp represented by *The Westminster Confession of Faith*. To these the Quakers should be added as the extreme left-wing of the Puritan movement. These five Puritan denominations constituted the overwhelming majority of all American Christians at the beginning of the new nation, and the basic pattern of church-state relations would almost certainly have come out as it did if there were no other religious bodies than these on the scene. The presuppositions of the American Constitution as relates to church and state are to be sought in the conceptions and attitudes of these five Puritan bodies and their interrelations.

This distribution of denominational strength is illustrated by one fact of minor importance which may yet be of interest in this citadel of Presbyterianism. That is that the only possible candidate for a national church, the establishment of which was enjoined by the First Amendment, was a merger of the two largest churches, the Presbyterians and Congregationalists. The one was the strongest church in New England as the other was in the middle states and the south. The two denominations held the same Westminster theology and were at this time in close working relations. If they had merged they might conceivably have constituted an effective plurality of American Christians. In the debate over the First Amendment, Madison commented, "The people feared that one sect might obtain a preeminence, *or two combine together* and establish a religion to which they would compel others to conform" (*Annals of Congress* I:730). And the Presbyterian Synod debated at three successive sittings in 1781, '82, '83, whether to dignify this charge with a formal repudiation of an interest in establishment. The charge had little substance but the fact that it could seem plausible to some suggests that the attitudes of these particular denominations toward the state may have been relatively important factors in the constitutional settlement.

If we then turn to the Puritan theory of church and state, we find that all the essential conceptions of the American solution were already worked out in 17th Century England. In England, to be sure, these ideas were a subordinate tradition, characteristic of the party defeated in the Restoration after the great Civil War. But the subordinate English tradition became the dominant American tradition. And if American historians were not so chauvinistic we would probably have more general recognition of the fact that the American founding fathers were living off the intellectual capital of the 17th Century English Puritans. Our revolution was a belated provincial echo of the great Civil War, but with no Restoration after it.

The two strains of thought which were to prove enduringly useful in the Puritan theory of church and state were first articulated in the 1640's, although at this time they were but minority voices. They shared the common presupposition of the Reformed or Calvinist churches (in contrast to Lutheran or high Anglican) that church government is properly independent from that of the state. But within this common

presupposition Puritanism divided into a right and a left wing as regards the relation of the independent church to the state.

The left wing held for a rigid separation of church and state, based in a theological compartmentalization of the spheres of creation or nature and of redemption or grace. In the sphere of created nature lay the state, which was to be formed and governed solely by standards of natural law as available to all men, Christian or pagan, regenerate or not. There could be no such thing as a "Christian state," and there should be no religious tests for the franchise or any ecclesiastical intervention in political issues. The state, on the other hand, must respect the liberty of the church as the sphere of redemption and grace. Here revelation was the criterion and the light of reason had little scope. Such was the scheme of Roger Williams in Rhode Island, and of John Lilburne or John Goodwin in old England. This became the main stream of Baptist thought in England and the colonies. And because of its natural law interest, this tradition struck an alliance with the Jeffersonian rationalists in politics, giving Jefferson and Madison strong support in the conservative churches. A comparable alliance of devout fundamentalists with Unitarians and Jews has emerged again and again in American controversies over church and state. The Quakers also have sometimes approximated to this pattern of separation and natural law political ethics.

A different but equally important pattern of thought was emerging meanwhile on the Puritan right-wing. It was first clearly set forth at the time of the Westminster Assembly, but not by the dominant Presbyterian party, who still hoped for the older pattern of an exclusive establishment. It appears rather in the manifesto of the Congregationalist minority at the Assembly, and especially in the writing of John Burroughs. It was actually put into effect in the 1650's as Cromwell's approved pattern of church-state relations. And while the Restoration apparently restored the old Anglican establishment, this Congregationalist view of church and state became very influential also among Presbyterians and even low church Anglicans in England and the colonies after the Toleration Act.

In contrast to the separatist position, this right-wing tradition refused to give up the notion of a Christian nation, a Christian magistracy, a Christian policy. But at the same time it also believed fervently in religious liberty. Cromwell's regime gave greater scope to religious liberty than any major European state to that time. He conceived the state as generically Christian, but representing no one ecclesiastical body. As he administered the parish system, benefices were held by ministers of Congregationalist, Presbyterian, Baptist and Episcopal persuasions indifferently. To this extent it was a multiple establishment, based on the novel conception of a number of equal and independent denominations cooperating to shape a Christian nation. The state again, represented all equally on the basis of the "common light of Christianity."

Such were in outline the two currents of Puritan thought which alike espoused religious liberty, but sought it in different ways in 17th Century England. In the words of the historian to whom I am chiefly indebted in this analysis, the final form of the free church concept of the relation of church

and state "was not unitary, but made allowance for ideas of both separation and 'Christianity's common light' in its view of civil authority . . . throughout modern British—and American history, the two strands ran side by side in the life of the Puritan denominations. Theoretically, the gulf between the two conceptions was unbridgeable, but in practise they were fused. . . . The American experiment emerged as a 'separation' which included tax-exemption for churches, congressional and military chaplaincies, and official observance of the Christian calendar, while the conservative denominations taught allegiance to a broadly confessional republic were 'Moses and Aaron united in counsel'" (J. M. Maclear, in *Church History*, 1957, p. 129). The ambiguities and the common convictions of this American experiment were foreshadowed in the English heritage of the Puritan denominations. One cannot do justice to the American and English Puritan pattern without full recognition of both strains.

We have found it necessary to use the terms "free church" and "denomination," and the meaning of this whole development cannot be understood without attention to the new conception of the church signalized by these terms. The Reformers, it will be recalled, had pressed behind the legal Roman Catholic definition of the church in terms of papal administration, and found the reality in the actual people of God, the historical community of those bound by faith to Christ. This people of God might have one ecclesiastical administration in Holland, another in France, and a third in England, and yet in all would still be the church catholic. The Puritan revolution produced a variant of this conception of the church. It was now held that the people of God might be organized in distinct groups, even in the *same* area, varying in some particulars, in what were then called "ways," e.g., "the Congregationalist way," "the Presbyterian way." The 18th century came to use the term "denomination" instead. Both terms signify that here is one of a number of alternative, mutually recognitory, valid bodies within the one church catholic. By definition, the "way" or "denomination" does not claim to be the whole church, only the sect makes that claim. The whole church is a visible unity transcending institutional barriers. And the American pattern of church-state relations presupposes this "denominational" conception of our several religious bodies.

But does not such ecclesiastical pluralism indicate doctrinal indifference? "Why" it has been asked, "is the well-behaved Episcopalian, Presbyterian, Unitarian[!], or any other Protestant believer of genteel instincts, who is convinced that the doctrine of his church is true, so fearful of pronouncing that his neighbor's affiliation is mistaken in its acceptance of doctrine that is false?" The answer proposed is "that skepticism is an essential element in the spirit of the latter-day Protestant" (M. DeW. Howe, *Harvard Law Review*, 64, pp. 170-175).

There is surely a valid element in this suggestion, although the situation is considerably over-simplified by reduction to the two alternatives of a crassly literal conception of religious truth, and "skepticism." Religious truth is not to be conceived as if it were of the same kind as scientific truth. Luther carefully distinguished faith as trust, confidence, from faith as assent to doctrines, and urged that saving

faith is only the former. Religious realities are effectively known as truth only in being possessed by them, not in disinterested observation. Puritanism stressed this personal "existential" character of religious truth even more than the Reformers. There was here even less readiness to be satisfied with descriptions at second hand and more expectancy as to new leadings and illuminations by the Holy Spirit. "God hath yet more light" as a famous saying goes, "to break forth from His Holy Word." Here was a strong sense of the mystery remaining in what is revealed, and a recognition of the fallibilities of our human apprehension. Skepticism in this sense was allied with the most intense conviction, especially with those who were strongest for religious liberty at the Westminster Assembly and in Cromwell's regime. And by the end of the century few still maintained that specific forms of polity or worship, which were the matters at issue chiefly among the Puritan denominations, were of divine right. This or that scheme, presbytery or diocesan episcopacy, e.g., might be defended with great conviction on many grounds, yet without holding it essential to the very existence of a church, and unchurching all Christian believers who lacked it.

For the strict separationist there would be no limits on religious liberty short of attacks on public order and security. But if the government conceived itself to be the instrument of the Christian community in its policy, as with Cromwell, then there would seem to be some other limits to religious liberty. As Burroughs has said, "the magistrate has no concern with theological issues among the denominations," but is to be concerned with "such things as are against the rules of common justice and equity, and the common light of Christianity" (*Irenicum* 46).

What is against the "common light of Christianity"? Cromwell once thought blasphemy and denial of the divinity of Jesus Christ should be out of bounds, but in general he avoided the difficult task of formulating the scope of the common light of Christianity. It is perhaps significant that he gave the fullest liberty to Jews which they had known in England for centuries, and that the Bible commonwealths of New England were also distinguished by the liberality to Jews.

A generation later John Locke attempted to consolidate in his prosy fashion some of the lessons of the Commonwealth period. He defined the limits of religious liberty to rule out atheists, Unitarians and Roman Catholics. In the American colonies and in the early years of the nation this judgment was widespread. The American state constitutions reflect it well into the 19th century. It has been one of the chief changes in American church-state relations to accord full liberty to these groups.

The original reason for denial of full liberty to these groups was that they were understood to be opposed to the moral bases of the state. It was widely supposed that an atheist was also beyond good and evil and could not be trusted with the responsibilities of citizenship. A Roman Catholic, on the other hand, was understood to give ultimate political loyalty, not to the civil community, but to an ecclesiastical corporation whose political interests in the 17th, 18th and early 19th century were often conspicuously opposed to those of the British and American states. But in the 19th and 20th cen-

turies it has come to be generally felt that liberal democracy is strong enough in America to accord liberty even to those who deny its moral presuppositions, at least up to the point of clear and present danger to the state.

In recent decades debate over church-state relations in this country has usually been occasioned by this Roman Catholic problem. A church which teaches that religious liberty is in itself dangerous and wrong cannot be expected to yield more than grudging and imperfect support to the legal and institutional forms created by a belief in religious liberty as a right when these forms do not favor its special interests.

This brings us back to our starting point. Our original contention was that the central principle and animating concern of the American system of church-state relations is religious liberty. The provisions with regard to establishment and religious tests are instruments for the actualization of this principle. The principle arose historically on certain convictions effective in the dominant Puritan denominations with regard to the nature of religious faith and the church. Practical political considerations powerfully strengthened these theological convictions in shaping the basic law of the nation. And in recent generations the system, usually referred to, not entirely accurately, as the separation of church and state, has been supported on pragmatic grounds by many who have no deep convictions about religious liberty. Insofar as this system represents more than a mere convenient constitutional mechanism, however, its strength still lies in metaphysical and theological conviction of predominantly Protestant character. And this poses what Professor Mark De Wolf Howe calls the heart of our constitutional problem: "Is not the objective of freedom and separation so intimately related to an article of [Protestant] religious faith as to make the state a religious partisan when it seeks to attain that objective?" (*op.cit.*).

CHURCH AND STATE

LEO PFEFFER

I HAVE been invited this morning to present a Jewish approach to the subject of the relationship of church and state in the United States. Presumably I was invited also because I am an attorney, and could present certain aspects of the question from the viewpoint of the Constitution and the laws. I am not a theologian, and I have no intention of quoting either the Bible or our Rabbis, and do not presume to enter the theological forest in which I would be a complete stranger.

I speak primarily on the constitutional and historical aspect of what has come to be the First Amendment of the Constitution. And, as I say, I have been asked to speak on it from a Jewish approach. In a way this is rather paradoxical. I do not think there is a Jewish approach to the law of automobile accidents, or a Catholic approach to the law of real property, or a Protestant approach to the law of negotiable instruments, all of which are part of our civil law. But we do sort of expect a Jewish approach to the equally legal question of the relationship of church and state in the American democratic system.

Realistically, if not perhaps theoretically, I think this is valid. I do not think I am cynical when I point out that we do read into law, as into history, a good deal of what we would like to see there. And, in the best of faith, we interpret the events of history and the decisions of the courts in a light which is most satisfactory to our concept of what that history should have been and what those decisions should be. And so it is not surprising that there is a Protestant approach to the question of church-state relationships in America which, I say again without cynicism, is remarkably sympathetic and attuned to what Protestantism considers the ideal solution to the problems of the inter-relationship of church and state. Nor is it surprising that the good Bishops of the Roman Catholic Church, when the decision of the United States Supreme Court was handed down in the McCollum case in 1948, should express an interpretation of the Constitution which is considerably at variance with the interpretation handed down by the Supreme Court, but which was quite a happy one, if it had been accepted, for the Roman Catholic Church and the Roman Catholic community in this country.

The approach I am going to suggest in respect to the relationship of church and state is my own, a Jew's approach perhaps better than a Jewish approach. I can say that there are undoubtedly a number of Jews, Will Herberg who is at Drew University not far from here is an illustration, who disagree strongly with my interpretation. Yet I think it is fair to say that the overwhelming majority of Jewish spokesmen, representatives of Jewish organizations and Jewish groups and Jewish thinkers who have written on this subject, would substantially agree with the approach I will suggest this morning.

I think it is important to note that this is a Jew's approach. It is not, although unfortunately it has frequently been so called, a secularist's approach.

It reflects not merely the approach of secular Jews in America, although secular Jewry certainly goes along with it. It reflects the approach of religious Judaism in America as well—and perhaps with the exception of a very small segment on the extreme right of Jewish Orthodoxy. I think it reflects the approach of practically all of organized Jewry and Judaism in America.

I would be less than frank, however, if I denied that the approach which I am going to suggest, and which the Jewish organizations and the Jewish groups have espoused, as the Protestants have espoused their approach, the Roman Catholics their own, I would be less than frank if I denied this approach coincides very closely with the approach of secular humanism. I believe it is practically identical with the approach of such a non-religious secular organization as the American Civil Liberties Union, for example. It is, however, also identical with the approach of at least the left wing of liberal American Protestantism. Perhaps the term liberal Protestantism is not correct, because it includes a good deal of the Baptist Communion, for which, in general, the term liberal would not be an accurate designation. It also represents the approach of the Unitarians, the Universalists, the Friends, and a good deal, surprisingly enough, of low Episcopalianism. I would not call the Seventh Day Adventists liberal in the theological sense, but it is identical with their approach. And, as I said, it is identical with the approach of a substantial part of the Baptist Communion. Perhaps, it best be said, that it represents at least one important segment of Protestant dissent.

Now, Dr. Nichols earlier this morning suggested that it is perhaps chauvinism which causes so many of us to identify the American pattern of church-state relationships with America rather than with England whence it was derived, but chauvinism is not the exclusive possession of Nationalists. Churches, and church adherents, unfortunately share this failing, and I noted that at the end of his talk, indeed one may say through his entire talk, Dr. Nichols suggested that the American approach to the relationships of church-state is a Protestant creation. He cited Mark Howe who, while perhaps gentle sceptic today, still has in him the blood of an ancient Calvinist tradition. And our brothers of the Roman Catholic persuasion likewise are not immune from this failing of chauvinism. They frequently point out, as Dr. Rommen has, the sources of religious freedom in Roman Catholicism. For example, he mentioned Bishop Carroll. He might have—and perhaps it is a little surprising that he did not since it generally is almost standard operating procedure—mentioned the religious toleration act of Maryland as a great step in establishing religious freedom in America. Catholic writers are fond of pointing out that that was a time when Maryland was a Catholic colony. This, too, has amused me because I do not consider the Religious Toleration Act of Maryland a religious toleration act. I think a concept of religious freedom for those who are within the protected group, and death for those who are out of it, is hardly one consistent with religious freedom, as I view it.

Not to be outdone, we Jews, who make it our business to be the equal of everybody else, and perhaps a little more equal than others, we, too, have our chauvinism. It is a good American trait, and we are entitled to share it.

And we, too, preach that, while Protestants say they created religious freedom under Cromwell and the levelers of the 17th century, and the Roman Catholics say they created it out of Cardinal Bellarmine and Lord Baltimore's Maryland colony, we say we beat them to it by many, many centuries. We created religious freedom when the Maccabeans fought against the Seleucids in the second century before Christ. We, too, interpret our history not uninfluenced by chauvinistic motivations, because, truthfully the struggle of the Maccabeans was no more a struggle for religious freedom than was the Maryland statute of toleration or the principles and laws established by the Puritans in New England. The Maccabeans after their victory, went about forcibly circumcising all the Jewish Hellenists that they could get hold of, and imposing upon them the restrictions in respect to freedom of worship which they had suffered under the Hellenists, just as our Calvinists in New England imposed such restrictions upon Quakers and other non-Calvinists, and just as a good deal of Roman Catholicism has imposed those restrictions on others.

There is nothing in ancient Jewish tradition which would indicate a sympathy either with separation of church and state or with religious freedom. I do not think you could expect a concept of religious freedom from a people which gave to the world the idea of a jealous, monotheistic deity. Religious freedom is just not acceptable if you assume such a God. If you take "Thou shalt have no other gods before me" literally, you cannot acknowledge any rightness in religious freedom. Similarly, the very term theocracy, which we now use as a shorthand term for a close relationship between church and state in which church dominates state, was a term coined by Josephus to describe the priest-dominated, post-exilic second commonwealth of Israel when the secular powers were exercised by the priestly class. And of course Jewish history, after the Second Temple until the emancipation in the late 18th and 19th centuries, was a ghetto life in which the Rabbi, as successor of the priest, exercised tremendous secular powers.

So, as I say, I cannot in good conscience ascribe to Judaism the source, in any substantial extent, of the American principle of religious freedom and what we call the separation of church and state. American Judaism, however, has embraced that principle passionately, loyally, and faithfully. And I think it is not overly chauvinistic to say that American Judaism is perhaps the most vigorous, articulate, and unyielding champion of that principle of separation of church and state and religious freedom as spelled out by the United States Supreme Court. I think that, too, is understandable. We would be less than human, and we are not, or we would be more than human, we are not that either, if we did not feel a great debt of gratitude towards a system which, after almost two thousand years of persecution, has given us a real haven and a real equality. And it is therefore hardly surprising that we should accept that system as God-created and God-given and as the ideal of the good community.

What is that system to which I refer? Well, it is a system of complete religious freedom. It is a system which is enunciated in shorthand in the first fifteen or sixteen words of the Bill of Rights: "Congress shall make no law

respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof."

I suggest to you that of all the freedoms which Americans enjoy, of all the liberties which are part of our heritage, none exceeds in importance religious freedom. As a lawyer, I offer two indicia, two items of evidence to support this thesis. First, I suggest to you that religious freedom is the progenitor, at least in the American system, of all other freedoms. The Bill of Rights, which as you know is the first ten amendments of the Constitution, contains a variety of liberties. The very first amendment says "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press, or of the right of the people peaceably to assemble and to petition for a just redress of grievances." Other liberties include the right to a fair trial, the right of one charged with a crime not to be compelled to incriminate himself, the right to know the nature of an offense with which one is charged, the right not to be put in double jeopardy, the right not to suffer cruel, inhuman punishment, and so on. I suggest to you that all these rights, and all these liberties, within our Anglo-American history, came about as a result of the successful struggle for religious freedom.

Let us take freedom of speech. Today we conceive of freedom of speech primarily as a right of the corner agitator, the radical, to get up and condemn the Government, and demand that the rascals be thrown out, that we should have a revolution, and so on. In other words, we think of it primarily in terms of political speech. Historically, freedom of political speech came late on the scene. It came after freedom of religious speech was won. The battles for freedom of speech in England, from which we inherited our tradition, were initially battles for freedom to speak religiously, for freedom to speak in a manner deemed heretical by the established Church. And after a good deal of suffering, persecution and martyrdom, slowly the war for freedom of religious speech was won. By the time of the eighteenth century, after the Cromwellian revolution and the Restoration, the right of religious speech had been established as a natural right of Englishmen. And when those Englishmen came to these shores they followed what was happening in England. They, too, recognized it as a right of those Englishmen residing in the American colonies. Inevitably, logically, it followed that if an Englishman had a natural right to speak freely on religious matters, he had a natural right to speak freely on non-religious matters. If he could speak freely on such important matters as eternal values and eternal truths, so important a matter as the sacred, obviously he has a right to speak on the less important matters of the secular and temporal. When the First Amendment got to be written, and it had been already established that Americans as former Englishmen have a natural right to speak freely on religious matters, it followed inevitably that they had a right to speak freely on political matters. Thus freedom of speech was written into the Bill of Rights.

The same is true of freedom of the press. I need not tell you that freedom of the religious press was greatly restricted in England. You know quite well that persons were even burned at the stake for printing the Bible, and printing it in the common tongue so

that everyone could read it, and for printing religious tracts. It was the great glory of the Puritan revolution that it established a right freely to print religious books, tracts and documents. When that right was established, it followed that Englishmen and Americans had the equivalent right to print non-religious books and tracts, political books, tracts, documents, and pamphlets. That, too, was written into the Constitution as part of the Bill of Rights.

The same is true in respect to the right of assembly. We generally consider this to be a political right, and we think of it in terms of the right, to have a mass meeting to demand that Tom Mooney be freed, or that we get out of China or halt nuclear bomb testing or something of that type. We think of it in terms of political assembly. Its origin in Anglo-American tradition, however, was religious assembly, the right to assemble together to worship jointly in a manner not permitted by the established churches. When the right of religious assembly was won, inevitably the right of political assembly followed.

There are those rights which seem to be far removed from religion, the rights incident to a fair trial, such as the right not to incriminate oneself, or to confront one's accusers or the right not to be subject to double jeopardy or cruel and inhuman punishment. All these rights, which are written into our Constitution, came out of the religious or heresy trials of the 16th and 17th centuries, in the Star Chamber in England. "Freeborn" John Lilburne, a Puritan leveler, a religious dissenter, and heretic, was one of the heroes of the struggle for fair trial. In his frequent encounters with the Star Chamber he continually asserted his rights as an Englishman, not to be compelled to incriminate himself, to have counsel to help him and not to be subjected to cruel and inhuman punishments. He asserted these rights in these religious trials and one by one they were accepted. Once they were accepted and became part of a fair trial before an ecclesiastical court, it was inevitable that they would be carried over into the secular courts and that they would be considered rights of every Englishman and every American. And so they, too, found their way into our Constitution and our Bill of Rights.

So I say that religious freedom is a progenitor of all our freedoms and in that respect is the most important of them. When the state was ready to grant religious freedom to its citizens, it was soon ready to grant them other freedoms. Conversely, if a state is prepared to deprive its citizens of their rights in matters of conscience, it is inevitable that it will deprive them of all other rights.

Let me give you a second item of evidence in support of my suggestion that religious freedom is the most important of all our rights. I do not suppose any statistics have ever been made on this, nor do I believe that statistics could practicably be made. Yet, I suggest, that if at the time our Constitution was written, that is during the latter half of the eighteenth century, a statistical table could have been made of the causes for which throughout history men have shed the blood of other men, of the causes they fought over, I suggest to you that on the top of this tragic list would be the cause of religion. I suggest to you that up to the latter part of the 18th century more blood had been shed allegedly for the

greater glory of God or the gods than for any other cause in history.

We still shed blood. We still have wars. Men still fight in battle with each other, and they still take up arms against each other. We fight for many things. We fight for political reasons, for economic reasons, for nationalist reasons. But I think we have ended that horrible blasphemy that we fight wars because God wants us to do so, that we can promote God's will by picking up the sword and converting by force those in error and darkness. I think we no longer commit that terrible sacrilege of saying "Thy will be done," when we drop an atomic bomb on a city.

We are still imperfect human beings. We still war; we still engage in that wholesale shedding of blood. But we no longer do it because we believe it is what God wants us to do. Religious wars are happily a matter of ancient history. I suggest to you that a major cause for this turn of events was the launching of the American experiment of religious freedom and the separation of church and state.

Dr. Rommen pointed out in his remarks that as long ago as 1830 the constitution of the Catholic country of Belgium incorporated a provision guaranteeing religious freedom. There is no nation today in the world that I know of which has a written constitution, which does not in that constitution pay at least lip service to the principle of religious freedom. We know that religious freedom is not absolutely secured everywhere, that there are restrictions and even persecutions in many countries. Yet even in those countries where religious restrictions are most severe, if there is a written constitution you will find a recognition of the right of freedom of worship. And that has resulted in the elimination and termination of the religious persecutions and religious wars which have plagued Europe for well nigh two thousand years.

Here, too, I may be pardoned for being a little bit chauvinistic as an American, because I think America was the first nation to establish religious freedom as a binding principle of its organic law, the first nation to write it into its constitution. Almost all the nations in the world have emulated us in this respect. The experiment launched on these shores has been accepted and followed in nation after nation. It is for these two reasons, religious freedom has brought forth other freedoms and has ended religious wars, that I suggest that the most important of all our freedoms is religious freedom.

I want to say that my interpretation of religious freedom, and I say this again recognizing that this is an interpretation which is most attuned to my own desires, my interpretation of religious freedom does not recognize any dichotomy between it and what we call separation of church and state. (I do not particularly defend that shorthand term, although I see no reason particularly to criticize it. Any shorthand term is vulnerable to a good deal of criticism, because, being a shorthand term, everybody can say that it is too general, vague and so on.) As I envisage it, the American experiment does not constitute two freedoms or two rights. Above all, it does not envisage one as major and the other as minor, one an end and the other a means. I find nothing in American history, nothing in the development of our principle which justifies the statement that separation of church and state is a means and re-

ligious freedom an end, and that when separation of church and state is inconsistent with religious freedom, separation must yield because religious freedom is the higher good. I do not believe that this can be historically justified on the American scene. I do not believe that those who established the American experiment conceived them as two different things, one a means and one the end. I do not believe that you can say that the heads on a coin is the end and the tail is the means, or that my right hand is an end and my left hand a means. They are one and the same thing. Separation of church and state, or what we have come to call separation of church and state, and religious freedom were simply two ways of saying the same thing. When our Bill of Rights was written they were both put in—"no law respecting an establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof"—because they were dual aspects of a single right.

If religious freedom were the end and separation simply the means, there would be no reason whatsoever to spell out the means in respect to this end. Certainly in respect to no other freedom are the means put in as well as the end; the end alone is stated. I do not know what the particular means would be to freedom of speech, but the freedom of speech guaranteed in the Constitution does not have any means specified along with it. Indeed it is not in the nature of a Bill of Rights to specify means.

Separation of church and state and religious freedom in the American tradition are one and the same thing. This is because both rest on a dual assumption upon which I should say our whole democracy rests. One is the assumption of voluntariness in matters of conscience and spirit, in matters of man in his relationship to God. I think that is as fundamental an aspect of American democracy as anything can be. Under no circumstances can democracy coerce a person in any way in respect to his relationship to his Maker, in respect to belief or lack of belief in God. And, if you accept the concept of voluntarism in matters of faith, religion, religious association and of worship, then I think you must inevitably come to the goal or ideal of absolute separation of church and state.

I think you Protestants probably understand that perhaps better than our Roman Catholic friends or we Jews do. American Protestantism interprets the struggle for religious freedom largely in terms of the struggle against taxes for religious purposes. Suppose the Government does take some money out of the vast public treasury and pay it out to parochial schools or to churches. How does that affect your freedom? The amount so spent cannot exceed threepence of the money you pay as part of your whole tax burden. Nevertheless, you Protestants, and we too, must recognize that, as Madison put it so eloquently in his Memorial and Remonstrance against the Virginia Assessment Bill, and Jefferson equally eloquently in the Virginia Statute for Religious Freedom, when you impose a tax for a religious purpose you are exercising coercion and compulsion in the field of the spirit, in the field of the sacred. This is tyranny; it is despotism; it is a violation of the separation of church and state. So, if you accept complete voluntarism in matters of faith, I think you must come to the ideal of absolute separation of church and state.

The second concept, which is equally fundamental to our democracy and which like voluntarism distinguishes democracy from totalitarian governments, is the concept that the State is the servant of the people, not its master. That as the creation of the people, it has only such powers as are delegated to it by the people, and if it seeks to exercise a power not delegated to it, it is guilty of tyranny and despotism. This is the second underlying premise of democracy: the concept of limited government. It is not so in a totalitarian state. The very name totalitarian indicates that the state controls and has jurisdiction over the totality of man's life.

And while at first glance it might seem surprising, on second thought it is not surprising at all, that in those totalitarian states behind the Iron Curtain which are committed to the ultimate destruction of religion as an enemy of the people, religion is nevertheless subsidized by the government, it is taught in the public schools, and its teachers and priests receive State salaries. It might seem surprising that nations like Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Romania, which are committed to the elimination of religion as the opiate of the people, to the Marxist concept that it is a complete evil which must be destroyed, yet subsidize it, regulate it and grant it favors. Paradoxical it is at first glance, but on second thought it is quite natural and logical. If your State is totalitarian, then nothing which the people do is outside its control. Its powers encompass the evil as well as the good. So long as religion is an aspect of the people's lives, it is part of the powers and the jurisdictions of the totalitarian state. This is not so in a democracy; not so in American democracy anyway. Our political government has only such powers as we give to it. This is the premise of the Declaration of Independence which expressly states that government has only those powers assigned to it by the people. This, too, is the premise of our Constitution. Equally the premise of both is that matters of religion, the area of the relationship of man to God, is not one which has been assigned to the political government.

Now, it has been said by Dr. Nichols, and in this he reflects a view held widely within the Protestant community, that this concept is a Protestant creation. I think that is an over-simplification. I think, in the first place, it was not all of Protestantism, but left-wing or Protestant dissent that first espoused the principle. The concept of separation of church and state and religious freedom, was accepted neither by the Anglican Church established in Virginia nor by the Congregationalist Church established in New England. It was the creation of the dissenting sects, the popular and frontier sects, the nonconformists, the Baptists, Quakers, Moravians, Mennonites and, after some inner conflicts, the Presbyterians. The Memorial and Remonstrance of the Presbytery of Hanover presented to the Virginia Legislature considering a tax for religious purposes is one of the great documents in the struggle for religious freedom in America, and it is one which accepts completely the concept of what later came to be called by Jefferson the wall of separation between church and state.

How did this come about within Protestantism? I think Dr. Nichols is right in stating that this was a religiously motivated development in Protestantism. I think Roger Williams, the founder, or one of the founders of

the American Baptist Church, is perhaps most well-known for his contribution. (Although his thinking started in England, we like to think of him as an American, and I think we can be permitted this little bit of chauvinism.) He developed it as a religious concept, not from the usually cited quotation from Matthew, "Render unto God that which is God's and unto Caesar that which is Caesar's," but from what he called the law of the two tables. He pointed out that the Ten Commandments, foundation of all religion, certainly all Christian and Jewish religion, were given by God on two tablets of stone, that on each tablet were five Commandments, and there was a line between them. On the one table you had the Commandments, using the Protestant and Catholic numbering, "Thou shalt have no other gods before me. Thou shalt make thee no graven image. Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord in vain. Thou shalt observe the Sabbath. Honor thy father and mother." On the other side you have, "Thou shalt not kill. Thou shalt not steal. Thou shalt not commit adultery. Thou shalt not bear false witness. Thou shalt not covet."

The five Commandments on the one side concern Man's relationship to God. They are of no concern to any other person. "It hurts not my neighbor," Jefferson said, "if I believe in one God, in twenty gods, or no gods at all." So, too, it hurts nobody if I take the Lord's name in vain, or if I rest weekly on Tuesday instead of Sunday. (Three hundred years ago Roger Williams strongly opposed compulsory Sunday laws, because he said this relates to man's relationship to God.) It hurts nobody if I make me a graven image. These obligations which relate to man's relationship to God belong to the Tribunal of God, the Tribunal of the Spirit.

The Commandments on the other side, against killing, stealing, adultery and bearing false witness, affect man's relationship to his fellow man. By placing a line between these two tables, God expressed his intention to confer upon the tribunals of man, jurisdiction only of those transgressions which affect man's relationship to man. But any transgression in the scope of the first Table, such as Sabbath observance, must be left to the Tribunal of God, the tribunal of the conscience. And, said Roger Williams, if a tribunal of man, whether it be a court, a legislature, a governor or prince, seeks to control or regulate, man's relationship to God, or punish for violation of any of the Commandments on the first Table, he is usurping—this is Roger Williams' term, and I think it is a tremendously significant term—he is usurping the prerogative of God. Indeed, he is playing God.

I think this was the influence that was so largely felt in Protestant dissent at the time our Constitution was written. But it would be unfair and inaccurate to say that this was the sole source of separation of church and state in America. It was one of the two major sources. The other was secular humanism.

The latter part of the 18th century was a very secularistic period in American history. The rationalism which came from Locke, Voltaire, Rousseau, and the Encyclopedists permeated American thinking and culture. The molders of American political and intellectual thought in the latter part of the eighteenth century were not religious people, certainly not religious in the sense which we have come to ac-

cept that term today. It is a rewriting of history (a practice which I suppose every nation engages in) to say, as I have seen it said so many times, that the men who framed our Constitution were religious people, that they were the friends of religion, that they would not have conceivably wanted to exclude religion from the public or official life of the nation, or in any other way act in a manner unfriendly to religion, and so on.

If "religion" is used in the sense of organized or institutionalized worship and practice—and this is indeed how it is generally used in this connection—the statement is in major part historically untrue. Most of the men who created our Constitution were not religious in that sense. They were humanistic and rationalist. They had a vague belief in some God who generally kept his hands pretty much off what was going on down here and to whom you satisfied your obligation by recognizing his existence and being good to your fellow man. Certainly they were in the main not adherents of institutionalized religion. It is not accidental that of the first seven Presidents of the United States not a single one was a member of any church upon his ascension to the presidency. The spirit of the intellectual leadership of the time was not a religious spirit. It was a spirit of rationalism and humanism. Next to the Bible, the most popular book in the last decade of the eighteenth century was Tom Paine's *Age of Reason.*

The principle underlying the philosophy of these people was the *Social Contract* of Locke and Rousseau, a concept which, as I said, was incorporated into the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution. Governments, according to this theory, are formed by men to do for them what they themselves cannot do individually. Governments have only such powers and responsibilities as are conferred upon them by the people as part of the Social Contract. There are certain rights which are inherent and are not conferred, which are, in terms of the Declaration of Independence, inalienable. That is a legal term, meaning that which cannot be alienated or transferred.

First of these and above all others are rights of conscience, rights concerning man's relationship to God. It is something which cannot be transferred to government. Therefore, they believed, as did Protestant dissent, that the government which they were establishing would have no jurisdiction or control in the area of conscience, the domain of God, the arena of the sacred.

I think it is tremendously significant that this is not merely implicit, but indeed explicit, in the Constitution. It is, as I frequently call it, the alpha and omega of our Constitution. Take alpha; the first part of our Constitution, is the Preamble. It says: "We the people of the United States in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, establish justice, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America." You will notice that this Preamble sets forth the purposes for which this Constitution is created, and for which powers were given to the Government. Remark how very, very significant it is that among these expressly specified powers, conspicuously absent is any reference to a purpose of promoting religion or pro-

moting God, that of all the purposes which were stated to be the purposes of the Government for which powers were designated, there is not one mention of anything having to do with religion as a rightful purpose of this Government. This is the alpha of the Constitution.

And consider the omega, which is the last, the very last clause of the Constitution. It says exactly the same thing. It says there shall never be a religious test for any public office in the United States Government. The meaning and implications of this were well understood. The provision was argued, debated, approved and agreed to by everybody, that this meant that the Hindu, the infidel, the Jew, even a non-believer in God could be President of the United States, a Congressman or a Senator, or hold any other office. Why? For the same reason, and they said it explicitly, that man's relationship to God could not, and was not to be the concern, of the Government they were founding.

This was the alpha and this the omega of our Constitution. How often do we hear it stated that we have prayers in Congress and "In God We Trust" on our coins. (Personally, I do not think that this marriage of God and Mammon formalized by placing "In God We Trust" on, of all things, money, is a great benefit to either God or to religion.) How often it is flaunted that "In God We Trust" is our national motto, that we have chaplains in Congress, and we acknowledge God every day in our public life. Yet it is never said that the basic charter, the instrument from which all powers of government arise in America, that instrument is completely silent about God, does not mention God at all.

This, too, I assure you, was not an accident. It was a deliberate decision made by a people who wanted to confer upon their governors only secular powers, only powers relating to the temporal and nothing relating to the eternal.

This, it seems to me, is what religious freedom means in our nation. This as I see it is what separation of Church and State entails within a democracy.

Let me finish with this one note. I started speaking as a Jew. I want to finish speaking as a Jew. I say that this experiment, which I believe is an American experiment, was greatly beneficial to both State and religion, to both the people in their religious life and the people in their secular life. I think that whenever religion gets entangled with the secular State, religion suffers, and so does the State. You will find this throughout history. I was just the other day rereading II Kings and this thought struck me again, as it did the first time I read it. It is in the story of Naaman, the leper, who was the chief of staff of the King of Syria and he came to Elisha to be cured of his leprosy. When he left he said he had always believed in the God, Jehovah, and would worship only God, Jehovah, but with this one exception that when he accompanies his King into the temple of Rimmon, the Syrian idol, and the King bows to Rimmon, he, too, will bow along with him. Will Elisha forgive him for this? Elisha says to him, "Go in peace." This is one of the illustrations of how a person's faith is corrupted, because he combines it with his political function.

You will find another illustration in I Kings when Jeroboam revolted against the Davidic dynasty. What did he do? As far as the Bible shows, Jeroboam was a believer in Jehovah, and was not an idol worshipper. Yet, in

order to make sure that his people would not go to Jerusalem to worship Jehovah, he built two idols, two golden calves, and said to the Israelites this is your God who brought you forth from the land of Egypt. He used religion in order to promote his political ends. The result was that idolatry was substituted for the Israelite religion. This has been the history of religion through its existence: whenever it ties up in any way with the secular state, it is corrupted.

Now as a Jew I want to say I am troubled for my own Jewish community. I think what has happened here is that American Jewry has finally achieved a position of equality. We have here a Protestant, a Roman Catholic and a Jew addressing you. It would have been beyond the realm of probability that a Jew, and a Jewish position on such a subject, would be presented to a group like you twenty years ago. We speak about a Judeo-Christian civilization, a term which was unknown twenty years ago. When a Jewish synagogue was bombed in the South, the President of the United States immediately expressed his great shock and horror, although he apparently felt no need to express shock when schools were burned or the individual homes of Negroes were burned. As it was once fashionable to be anti-Semitic, it is now fashionable to be philo-Semitic.

We Jews have arrived. We are now one of the inner circle. We are accepted. We are one of you. We are all together now. And I fear for this. I fear for this because, to reverse the Deuteronomist, Jeshurun has waxed fat, and is beginning to stop kicking. I fear for it because I am beginning to find among my Rabbinic friends a somewhat lesser intensity in fighting for this absolute separation of religion and state, in protesting that the atheist has rights and that the non-believer should not be put in the status of second-class citizenship. We are now in the inner circle and we too talk about Judeo-Christian religion. If we can have Christmas in the schools, let us also have Hannukah. If there is to be Easter on television, so too should there be plays about Passover and the story of the Passover.

We are one of you. We, too, are of the selected.

As I said at the beginning, we are as human as you are. There is a temptation to become respectable and to behave as one does when he is a member of an accepted class. There is a great temptation to forget what to me is a basic concept of the American tradition, that there is no difference in the eyes of Government, between the believer and the non-believer, between the orthodox and the heretic, between the God-fearing and the atheist. There is but one Constitution which protects all. This is the American experiment.

PRINCETONIANA*

The 147th Commencement was held in the University Chapel on Tuesday, June 9. Peter K. Emmons, President of the Board of Trustees, presided, and the formal announcements were made by Benjamin F. Farber, Secretary Emeritus of the Board. The address was given by John Coventry Smith, Commission on Ecumenical Mission and Relations of the United Presbyterian Church. Degrees were conferred upon 145 candidates, with one receiving the M.R.E., 94 the B.D., 39 the Th.M., and 11 the Th.D. The election of three new members to the Board of Trustees was announced: the Reverend C. Edward Brubaker, D.D., minister of the Tabernacle Church, Philadelphia, Pa.; the Reverend John T. Galloway, D.D., minister of the Presbyterian Church, Wayne, Pa.; and Mrs. Paul F. Switz, Red Bank, N.J.

The following instructors were promoted to the rank of assistant professor: James P. Martin, Th.D., John Edwin Smylie, Th.D., James Franklin Armstrong, Th.D., James Hutchison Smylie, Th.D., Harriet Catherine Pritchard, M.R.E., and Theodore Goodwin Belote, B.D. The election was announced of John H. Hick, Ph.D., to the Stuart Chair of Christian Philosophy. A member of the faculty of Cornell University since 1956, Dr. Hick holds degrees from Edinburgh, Cambridge, and Oxford where he was Campbell Fraser Scholar at Oriel College.

Dr. Mackay Abroad

During July and August, Dr. John A. Mackay attended several important church gatherings in Europe and Latin America. From July 16 to 18, he met with the Committee on the Theological Education Fund of the International Missionary Council at Compiegne, France. From July 20 to 24, he attended a meeting of the Administrative Committee of the IMC at Oise, France. From Europe he flew to São Paulo, Brazil to meet with the Executive Committee and to attend the 18th General Council of the World Presbyterian Alliance, July 27 to August 6. Later he went to Rio de Janeiro for the Centennial Celebration of Brazilian Presbyterianism. On his return to the U.S.A., Dr. and Mrs. Mackay moved to their new home at 3709 Chevy Chase Lake Drive, Chevy Chase 15, Md.

The Faculty

Members of the Faculty have spent a very busy summer with significant engagements throughout the United States and Canada. Dean Homrighausen lectured at the Virginia Baptist Pastors' School at the University of Richmond, Va., June 10-12; the New England Town and Country Workers' Conference, Ocean Park, Maine, June 29 to July 3; Northfield Conference on Evangelism of the National Council of Churches, July 20-24; and the Montreat Conference, N.C., August 13-16.

Dr. Otto A. Piper lectured at the Southern Baptist Seminary, Louisville, Ky., April 21-24, in connection with the Centennial Program. Also, he deliv-

* Information for these columns was provided by E. G. Homrighausen, Joseph MacCarroll, J. W. Clarke, R. M. Hoag, David H. Jones, and Robert E. Sanders.

ered a lecture at Louisville Presbyterian Seminary, entitled "The Gospel of Thomas." Other engagements included: series of addresses, "The Message of the Parables of Jesus" at School of Christian Studies, Meredith College, Raleigh, N.C., June 15-19; lecture on "Money: A Christian Appraisal," Wartburg Seminary, Dubuque, Iowa, July 14-15; series of papers on "An Exegesis of Romans 9-11," at Conference on the Church and Judaism, Lake Geneva, Wisconsin, August 18-19.

Dr. Howard T. Kuist delivered lectures at the following summer conferences: Institute on Preaching, Waterloo Lutheran Seminary, Ontario, Canada, June 22-29; Tazewell Leadership School, Tazewell, Va., July 27 to August 3; Bonclarken Assembly, Hendersonville, N.C., August 5-10; and Evangelical School of Theology, Myerstown, Pa., September 14.

Dr. D. Campbell Wyckoff taught a course on "Religious Education in Church, Home, and Community," at the Institute of Religious Education, Syracuse University, Syracuse, N.Y., June 29 to July 17; lectured on "Theology and Christian Education" at Seminary for Missionaries and International Students, under auspices of the Methodist Board of Education, Lake Junaluska, N.C., July 31 to August 8; series of addresses on "Improving Christian Communication" at Sixteenth International Conference on Audio-Visuals in the Church, under auspices of the National Council of Churches of Christ, U.S.A., Green Lake, Wisconsin, September 6-11.

Dr. Edward Jurji was a member of the faculty at the Summer Quarter of the Iliff School of Theology, Denver, Colo., where he taught two courses: "Applied Comparative Religions" and "Christianity and the Middle East."

Other members of the Faculty were active in local and international assignments: Dr. J. Christy Wilson lectured at the Winona Lake School of Theology, June 14 to July 1. Dr. J. W. Clarke gave a series of lectures, "Modern Preaching—Pastoral and Prophetic," at the Alumni Association meetings of Emmanuel College, Toronto, September 12-14. Dr. Norman V. Hope lectured at both Mt. Gretna and Massanetta Springs Bible Conferences and at the Annual Conference on Evangelism of the United Church of Canada at Whitby, Ontario, August 30 to September 1. Dr. Donald Macleod was in the American Preacher Series at Eaton Memorial Church, Toronto, Canada.

Friends of Dr. Donald Wheeler will note that he has moved from Claremont, California, and is now living at 3228 North Treat Circle, Tucson, Arizona.

Dr. Orion C. Hopper, the Alumni Secretary, participated in a panel on Alumni Relations at the Non-Academic Officers Association of the American Association of Theological Schools which was held at Pittsburgh-Xenia Theological Seminary, June 14 to 16. Other members of the panel represented Yale Divinity School, Union Theological Seminary in Virginia, and Andover Newton Theological School. Dr. Joseph MacCarroll attended also. The conference dealt with business management, public relations, fund raising, and other areas of financial responsibility.

Dr. Cailliet Retires

After twelve years as Stuart Professor of Christian Philosophy, Dr. Emile Cailliet retires at the end of this calendar year. Born and educated in

France, he came to America in 1926 and taught successively at Scripps College, Wesleyan University, and the University of Pennsylvania, before coming to Princeton in 1947. After service in World War I, he was a Fellow of the French Government at the University of Basel, and later pursued graduate work at the universities of Nancy, Montpellier, and Strasbourg, leading to both Ph.D. and Th.D. degrees. From 1923 to 1926, under the auspices of the University of Montpellier and the School of Ethnology of the University of Paris he carried out in Africa an inquiry into primitive forms of symbolism in oral traditions. His work has been recognized subsequently by special commendation from the President of France, his election in 1932 as a National Fellow of the French Academy of Sciences, and in 1934 the French Government conferred on him a medal for "distinguished service in the field of letters."

Dr. Cailliet has written ten books in America and has collaborated in the preparation of several others. In November, a new volume, *The Recovery of Purpose* will be published by Harper and Brothers, New York.

During his teaching career at Princeton he brought much to the academic and devotional life of the Seminary. He was an authority on the great French scientist and mystic, Blaise Pascal, and was regarded as his most outstanding interpreter. His lectures and sermons were fine examples of original thought and more than he realized he interpreted the devotional side of the Christian life to both faculty and students. As Peter K. Emmons, President of the Board of Trustees put it at the Alumni Dinner, "We thank God for him and we thank him for what he has done in and for the Seminary in these years."

Edna Hatfield

At the Alumni Dinner on June 8, recognition was made of Miss Edna Hatfield who retired from the office of Registrar after over forty years of unsparing service to the Seminary. In appreciation of her work, she was presented with a gift of $1,000.00 from the Board of Trustees and a silver memento from the Faculty. The presentation address was made by Allan M. Frew, minister of First Church, Detroit, Mich. Dr. Frew spoke as follows:

"Mr. President, honored guests, and fellow Alumni, the one to whom we now pause to pay our tribute may well fall into the category of an amazing romance with Princeton Seminary. We all remember how Jacob worked for Rachel, and at the end of seven years, his love was so great he confessed that it had been but as a day. Edna Hatfield has served us here at Princeton Seminary nearly seven times seven years, and we would trust that her spirit is that it seems like not much more than a day. Throughout those years she has served as secretary and as Registrar, and as a general assistant in the administrative department of the Seminary. She has served the succeeding students who have gone through the Seminary across the years, the Faculty, the Administration, and the Alumni. And tonight we combine our hearts in seeking to express to her our sincere tribute and our fond devotion for her person and for her service to us all. And in order that this may be permanently recorded with her, there has been prepared and engrossed this resolution: 'The Trustees, the Faculty, the Alumni, and the students of Princeton Theo-

logical Seminary hereby express their profound appreciation of the unselfish and significant services rendered to the Seminary by Edna Hatfield. During more than forty years the duties of secretary and Registrar have been performed not only with exactness and faithfulness, but with such good will and understanding as to merit a debt of abiding gratitude from all persons who have the interests of the Seminary at heart.' "

Alumni Roll Call

President Dean W. Malott, of Cornell University, in his 1958-59 Annual report says of the alumni: "It is that great group which is the end result of higher education. Their annual unrestricted giving to their Alma Mater in relatively small amounts, creates a backlog of funds which balances the scale from bankruptcy to solvency in many an institution each year." Indeed this is the purpose of the annual Roll Call of Princeton Seminary. However, if we are to achieve this goal, we must increase by at least 1,000 the number of alumni who respond to the appeal. ALL of this money goes toward current expenses and does represent the devoted loyalty of our far-flung Seminary family. With gratitude to God for this opportunity, let every effort be made to have the most extensive response to this appeal during 1959-60.

In the first two weeks of August, 179 men and women have given $2,154.00. This is an excellent beginning and should inspire the cooperation of the entire 4,800 members of our Alumni Association.

Layman's Bible Commentary

Under the direction of the Board of Christian Education of the Presbyterian Church, U.S., and in cooperation with John Knox Press, the first volumes of a new Layman's Bible Commentary will appear this autumn. The 25 book series will be published at the rate of four volumes each year until 1964. Specifically designed for laymen's use, these studies will feature distinguished Bible scholars from the United States and abroad, and negotiations are under way for possible translations into Spanish, Portuguese, Japanese, and various African dialects. Dwight M. Chalmers, Book Editor of John Knox Press, writes, "We have attempted to combine excellent scholarship, handy and inexpensive format, and clear writing to make the LBC everything a layman could want in a Bible study guide."

It will be of interest to Princeton alumni to note that the volume on Genesis has been prepared by Charles T. Fritsch, professor of Hebrew and Old Testament Literature. A projected volume on Jeremiah will be done by Howard T. Kuist, professor of English Bible, and an essay, "How We Got the Bible," by Bruce M. Metzger, professor of New Testament, appears in Volume I, The Introduction to The Bible.

The editor-in-chief of the series is Balmer H. Kelly, Th.D. (Princeton, 1948).

New Scholarship

The Alfred Whitney Hubell II Memorial Scholarship has been established by his parents and sister of Tulsa, Oklahoma. At the early age of eleven years Alfred had dreamed of becoming some day a Presbyterian minister, but fate intervened and as a result of an automobile accident he passed away on October 26, 1958.

The scholarship of $500.00 per year has been endowed in perpetuity and is to be awarded to worthy men students requiring aid in meeting expenses. Its tenure for any one student shall be for one year, but is renewable subject to the approval of the Seminary.

1959 Choir Summer Tour

The Princeton Seminary Choir left for its fourteenth summer tour immediately following Commencement on June 9. The first three weeks were spent in New England, New York and Pennsylvania with engagements not only in churches, but also in the Rhode Island State Institutions, Pease Air Force Base, N.H., the General Electric Company jet engine factory in Lynn, Mass., and the Bicentennial Celebration of the City of Pittsburgh, as well as several television stations and service clubs.

The remaining five weeks took the choir through Michigan into Canada, through the Maritime Provinces and back through New England and New York State, singing on the last Sunday of the tour in Plattsburg for the Champlain Valley 350th Anniversary. During the fifty-six days of the tour the choir sang more than 120 times in over 100 cities.

Missionaries in Residence

Payne Hall is occupied during the present academic year by twelve missionaries and their families: Robert T. Bucher, Iran; James W. Dunham, Bahrain; Lorentz D. Emery, Colombia; Richard T. Foulkes, Costa Rica; Walter D. Griffiths, India; Alan H. Hamilton, Venezuela; Francis Kinsler, Korea; Habib Kurani, Lebanon; Kenneth F. Morris, Pakistan; Lumen Roble, Philippines; Manuel C. Rodriquez, Cuba; and John T. Underwood, Korea.

Seven of these families represent the United Presbyterian Church, U.S.A., while one is a Baptist, one a member of the Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church, another of the Reformed Church of America, and one represents the United Church of Christ in the Philippines.

Theology Today

The October issue of *Theology Today* will be in major part a tribute to its founder, John A. Mackay, who has served also as the first editor and latterly as chairman of the Editorial Board for the past fifteen years. Articles by leading theologians and scholars will focus upon the particular areas of concern with which the name of Dr. Mackay has been identified. The number will include also a Thesaurus of Tributes to the life and work of Dr. Mackay from leading persons in educational, theological, and ecclesiastical areas of thought and service. The Book Review section will feature a review of the recent *Festschrift* in honor of Dr. Mackay, *The Ecumenical Era in Church and Society* (edited by E. J. Jurji), published by Macmillan and Company, New York, N.Y.

ALUMNI NEWS

Orion C. Hopper

The Annual Dinner Meeting of the Alumni Association, which took the form of a testimonial to Dr. John A. and Mrs. Mackay, was held in the Campus Center on Monday evening, June 8, with 500 persons present. The President of the Alumni Association, Dr. Stanley K. Gambell, presided and the past-President, the Reverend Seth C. Morrow offered the opening prayer. Guests of honor included President and Mrs. Robert F. Goheen of Princeton University and President Van Dusen of Union Theological Seminary, New York.

Dr. Gambell recognized twelve classes which were holding reunions, including the Sixtieth of the Class of 1899 and the Fifth of the Class of 1954. Donald R. Steelberg, President of the Student Council, presented the newest members of the Alumni Association: the Class of 1959.

The President of the Board of Trustees, Dr. Peter K. Emmons, paid tribute to Dr. Emile Cailliet, who retires at the end of the calendar year from the Stuart Chair of Christian Philosophy, and to Miss Edna Hatfield who is concluding over forty-five years of administrative service to the Seminary.

Greetings and tributes were given to Dr. Mackay by Daniel L. Migliore, President of the Class of 1959; Dr. Stanley K. Gambell, President of the Alumni Association; Dr. Elmer G. Homrighausen, Dean of the Seminary; Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, Stated Clerk of the United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.; Dr. Harold W. Dodds, President Emeritus of Princeton University; and Dr. Samuel McRae Covert of the National Council of Churches.

A presentation was made to Dr. Mackay of bonds totalling $8,500.00—from the alumni $4,500.00 and from the trustees $4,000.00. Also, as a symbol of the esteem in which Dr. and Mrs. Mackay have been held, they were given four large volumes, bound in blue morocco and containing 600 testimonial letters from trustees and alumni. With these gifts an album of photographs was presented to Dr. Mackay, containing scenes of the campus and informal pictures at academic and social functions. Earlier in the day, the Friar Club at its annual reunion presented a gold plate to Dr. and Mrs. Mackay.

President Mackay responded with appreciative words to the tributes that were expressed and for the generous presentations that were made. The program concluded with prayer by Dr. Bryant Kirkland, who was general Chairman of the Program Committee.

Annual Meeting of Alumni Association

The Alumni Association met in the auditorium of the Campus Center on June 8 at 3:30 p.m. With the President, Dr. Stanley Gambell presiding, the following reports were given: Treasurer's report by Dr. Charles R. Erdman; Speer Library Fund Campaign and Alumni Roll Call by Dr. Joseph MacCarroll; Annual Report to the Alumni by the Secretary, Dr. Orion C. Hopper. Dr. Hopper announced his coming retirement on December 31, 1959, and expressed his appreciation for the op-

portunity he has had in serving the alumni during the past ten years. Dr. Gambell thanked Dr. Hopper on behalf of the Council and Association.

The report of the Nominating Committee for officers and members of the Alumni Council for 1959-60 was presented by Dr. Ernest T. Campbell, '38. The following were nominated and upon motion were elected: For President, William J. Wiseman, '44; Vice President, Charles R. Ehrhardt, '41; Secretary, Elwyn E. Tilden, Jr., '39; Treasurer, Charles R. Erdman, '91. Council members of the Class of 1962: George C. Ames, Jr., '44, and Walter H. Eastwood, '32. Dr. Hopper announced that C. Edward Brubaker, '41, had been elected as Alumni Trustee for the Class of 1962.

Dr. Wiseman presented for approval the following Nominating Committees: For Council Officers and Members for the year 1959-60: Chairman, Charles P. Robshaw, '42; Paul W. Stauning, '48; and Andrew W. Sebben, '44. For Alumni Trustee, Class of 1963: Chairman, Robert T. Williamson, '43; David V. Yeaworth, '54; and George H. Yount, '42. The meeting closed with prayer and the Benediction by Dr. Wiseman.

General Assembly Alumni Dinner

On Saturday evening, May 23, one hundred and seventy-five alumni with their wives and honored guests met for dinner at the Hotel Severin in Indianapolis. Dr. John A. Mackay was the guest of honor. Dr. Peter K. Emmons presided.

Seated at the speaker's table with Dr. Mackay and Dr. Emmons were Drs. James W. Laurie, William F. MacCalmont, Charles T. Leber, Henry B. Kuizenga, J. Earl Jackman, Eugene C. Blake, Charles R. Ehrhardt, H. Ganse Little, Mrs. Janet Harbison and Drs. MacCarroll and Hopper.

In the course of the dinner missionaries, chaplains, and board members were introduced. Dr. John C. Corbin presented Dr. M. A. Qayyum Daskawie, President of Gordon College, Rawalpindi, West Pakistan. Present also were Ruling Elder S. K. Shamsher from India, and Luiz P. Boaventura from Brazil. The group singing was led by Dr. MacCarroll.

Dr. MacCarroll reported briefly on the progress to date of the Speer Library Fund Campaign and the Alumni Roll Call. Dr. Hopper presented a brief résumé of Alumni Relations and Placement.

President Mackay delivered the main address of the evening, in the course of which he expressed his grateful appreciation to Princeton Theological Seminary for the privileges and opportunities it had afforded him throughout his student days and the twenty-three years of his presidency.

The Invocation was given by Dr. Henry B. Kuizenga, and the Benediction pronounced by Dr. H. Ganse Little.

Alumni Associations

Philadelphia: The Philadelphia Alumni Association held its annual luncheon meeting on April 24 at the First Presbyterian Church of Darby, with the minister, the Reverend Vincent T. Ross, as host. A very representative group of alumni were present. Dr. J. Milton Bell, President and minister of the Christ-West Hope Presbyterian Church, Overbrook Hills, presided. A short business session followed directly afterwards. Dr. Bell then introduced the Seminary guests who were present —Dr. Donald Macleod, Associate Pro-

fessor of Homiletics; Mr. Barton B. Leach, a member of the senior class, 1959, and Dr. Orion C. Hopper. Dr. Macleod delivered the main address, "Reflections on a Sabbatical Leave in Great Britain." Dr. Macleod's message was most informative and appreciated since it followed so closely his return from Great Britain. Mr. Leach discussed the effectiveness of Seminary training from the viewpoint of a Student Pastor and his future ministry. Dr. Hopper conveyed greetings from President Mackay and members of the faculty and referred to certain sections of his Annual Report on Alumni Relations and Placement. In behalf of Dr. Joseph MacCarroll, Dr. Hopper presented a report on the Speer Library Fund Campaign and the Roll Call. He expressed his grateful appreciation for the delightful arrangements which had been made and for the fine attendance on the part of our alumni.

Dr. Stanley K. Gambell, Chairman of the Nominating Committee presented his report. The following officers were elected for the ensuing year: President, Vincent T. Ross, '40; Vice President, Paul A. White, '50; Secretary, James Harold Guy, '36; Treasurer, John Russell McCouch, Jr. '47.

Detroit: The Michigan Alumni Association held its Annual Meeting on May 8 in the First Presbyterian Church of Detroit with the minister Dr. Allan M. Frew, as host. Dr. Mackay was the guest of honor. A fine group of alumni and their wives were in attendance at the dinner over which Dr. Frew, President of the Association, presided.

The newly elected officers were: President, H. Paul Sloan, Jr., '37; Vice President, Charles F. Richey, '52; Secretary-Treasurer, George D. Colman, '53.

Synod Meetings

The Synod of Pennsylvania. At the close of the meeting of Non-Academic Officers Association of the American Association of Theological Schools in Pittsburgh, Dr. Hopper visited the annual meeting of the Synod at Grove City, Pa.

The Synod of Ohio. On Wednesday afternoon, June 17, at 4:30, a group of the alumni attending the Synod Meeting at Wooster College met in the lounge of Douglas Hall for their annual get-together. Dr. Hopper conveyed to them greetings from Dr. Mackay and faculty members. He reported on the meeting of the alumni at the General Assembly and the Annual Dinner Meeting on the evening of June 8, honoring Dr. and Mrs. Mackay. He also referred to Alumni Relations and Placement and other matters of interest on the Campus.

The Reverend James R. Blackwood, Chaplain of Wooster College and minister of the Westminster Church, was responsible for announcements and arrangements. Dr. Harry R. Roach of Columbus, Synod Executive, was unanimously elected Convener for the coming year.

The Synod of New Jersey will meet at Ocean City at the Hotel Flanders, October 19-21. The Princeton Seminary Alumni Luncheon will be held on Tuesday, October 20, at 12:30 p.m. Dr. James I. McCord, the new President, and Mrs. McCord will be guests at this luncheon.

Election of Alumni Trustee Class of 1963

"A Committee on Nominations shall be elected at the Annual Meeting of the Alumni Association, to which commit-

tee names may be suggested as nominees by any member of the Alumni Association."

In keeping with the above action of the Board of Trustees of the Seminary and the Alumni Association regarding procedure in nominating Alumni Trustees, nominations should be sent no later than November 1, 1959, to the Chairman of the Nominating Committee, the Reverend Robert T. Williamson, Ph.D., '43, minister of the First Presbyterian Church, Easton, Pennsylvania.

Any alumnus has the privilege of suggesting a name or names to the Chairman or any member of the committee. From nominations received, three or more names may be selected by this committee. Ballots with names and biographical data of the alumni selected as candidates for Alumni Trustee of the Class of 1963 will be sent out early in November.

Class Reunions for Commencement 1960

All classes with years ending in zero or five are scheduled for reunions. The Alumni Office is always ready to furnish assistance by way of class member lists, together with helpful suggestions by which this reunion tradition may be encouraged and retained.

ALUMNI NOTES

[1920]

Robert L. Clark has been installed as associate minister of the McKeesport First Church, Pittsburgh, Pa.

Robert C. Grier has been called to the Associate Reformed Presbyterian Church, Greenville, S.C.

[1921]

Kunishichi Inori is serving as assistant minister of El Estery Church of Monterey, Calif.

[1922]

Harvey A. Hood is assistant minister, Ravenswood Church, Chicago, Ill.

[1923]

David S. MacInnes has received the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity from Parsons College, Fairfield, Iowa.

[1925]

Walter S. Boyer has been called to the pastorate of the Park Evangelical United Brethren Church, Reading, Pa.

Richard J. Frens is minister of the Rochester Christian Reformed Church, Rochester, N.Y.

[1926]

Frederick H. Allen has been installed as assistant minister of the First Church, Findlay, Ohio.

[1927]

William Henry Rutgers has been called as minister of the Bethany Christian Reformed Church, Bellflower, Calif.

Ned B. Stonehouse will be a Lecturer at the Free University of Amsterdam during this academic year.

[1929]

Lloyd S. Bowman has been installed as minister of the Evangelical United Brethren Church, Manassas, Va.

Charles Wayne Julier has been called to the pastorate of the First Church, Gold Beach, Ore.

Luther Craig Long is now minister of the St. Peter's Lutheran Church of Richfield, Pa. He continues to serve as Director of Psychological Services at the Selingrove State School for the Retarded in Selingrove and as Clinical Psychologist at the Geisinger Memorial Hospital in Danville.

[1930]

Charles E. Johnson is minister of the Trinity Lutheran Church, San Francisco, Calif.

Gerritt E. Mouw has been called to the pastorate of the Union Church, Monroe, Wis.

[1931]

William C. Anderson is minister of a new mission church, Trinity United Church of Christ, Austin, Texas.

Alva M. Gregg has been called to the pastorate of the Second Church, Birmingham, Ala.

[1932]

Peter A. DeJong is minister of the Hudsonville Reformed Church, Hudsonville, Mich.

[1933]

Leonard S. Hogenboom has been called to the pastorate of the Weirsdale Church, Weirsdale, Fla.

James Hayden Laster is working in New Church Development in New Johnsonville, Tenn. Mrs. Laster is the former Willie Nell Harold '35b.

[1934]

Harvey T. Kidd has been called to the pastorate of the First Church, Boonville, Mo.

Garner S. Odell has been called as associate minister, Ladue Chapel, St. Louis, Mo.

[1937]

William Sheldon Blair is the assistant minister at the Westmont Church, Johnstown, Pa.

R. Malcolm Ransom has been appointed Assistant Secretary of Overseas Missions, Presbyterian Church in Canada.

[1938]

Willis Alden Baxter is the recipient of an honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity from Illinois College, Jacksonville, Ill.

[1939]

George R. Ashwood has received the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity from Lewis and Clark College, Albany, Ore.

John Robert McClain is now the minister of the First Church, Lonaconing, Md.

Paul H. Merkle has been called to the pastorate of the St. Anthony Community Church (Presbyterian), St. Anthony, Idaho.

[1940]

William Morton Perdue is minister of the Stone Presbyterian Church of Willow Glen, San Jose, Calif.

[1941]

Hugh F. Ash has been called to the pastorate of the First Church (U.S.) Deland, Fla.

William M. Hunter is a teacher of music at Pikeville College, Ky.

David S. Kain, III has been called to the pastorate of the Chelsea Church, Atlantic City, N.J.

Millard Richard Shaull has been awarded the degree of Doctor of Theology from Princeton Theological Seminary.

[1942]

Samuel Dunlap Crothers has been called to the pastorate of the Palatine Hill Church, Portland, Ore.

J. Curtis Hodgens is now minister of the Church of Lauderdale-by-the-sea, Fort Lauderdale, Fla.

F. Bruce Morgan has been appointed to the Department of Bible and Religion, Syracuse University, Syracuse, N.Y.

Olaf K. Storaasli will spend this year in Edinburgh, Scotland. Upon his return he will become Professor of New Testament at Luther Theological Seminary, St. Paul, Minn.

[1944]

Claude C. Boydston has been appointed Rector of St. Stephen's Episcopal Church, San Luis Obispo, Calif.

John D. Tate has been installed as minister of the Market Square Church, Harrisburg, Pa.

[1945]

Noel A. Calhoun, Jr. has been called to the pastorate of the Westminster Church, Akron, Ohio.

William B. Miller has been installed as minister of the First Reformed Church, Lynden, Wash.

Gilbert T. Monson is minister of the Bethlehem Lutheran Church, Red Oak, Iowa.

John R. Rodman has been called to the pastorate of the First Church, Harriman, Tenn.

Edward D. Simpson has been appointed associate professor of Bible at Fort Wayne Bible College, Fort Wayne, Ind.

[1946]

Andrew E. Newcomer, Jr. has been appointed Central Area Secretary, Division of Evangelism, Board of National Missions (12 Synods in the midwest).

Samuel G. Orlandi has received the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity from Tusculum College.

[1947]

W. Malcolm Brown has been called to the pastorate of the First Church, Coraopolis, Pa.

Earle B. Harris, Jr. has been installed as associate minister, First Church, Great Falls, Mont.

John Barton Payne has been appointed associate professor of Old Testament at Wheaton College, Graduate School of Theology, Wheaton, Ill.

Donovan E. Smucker has been appointed Chaplain and assistant professor of Religion at Lake Forest College, Lake Forest, Ill.

[1948]

Richard E. Hunter has been appointed assistant professor of English, Muskingum College, New Concord, Ohio.

Charles H. Jester, Jr. has been called to the pastorate of the Panorama Church, Panorama City, Calif.

William C. Montignani has been installed as minister of the First Church and Pleasant Valley Church, Miller, S.D.

George E. Riday has been appointed professor of Christian Education and Counseling, Baptist Theological Seminary, Covina, Calif.

E. Charles Smith has received the honorary degree of Doctor of Theology from St. Andrews Ecumenical University Foundation Intercollegiate, London, England, and has been installed as minister of the Covenant Community Church, Pittsburgh, Pa.

Cornelius Wall is serving as instructor at Tabor College, Hillsboro, Kan.

[1949]

Elwood Thornton Dyson has been called to be organizing minister of a new church in the Overlake Park Area, Presbytery of Seattle, Wash.

James Leo Garrett has been appointed professor of Christian Theology at Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, Louisville, Ky.

Gerald Hollingsworth has been called to the pastorate of the Edgewood Presbyterian Church, Edgewood, Pa.

Charles John Hooker, Jr. has been appointed Field Work Director, Department of Radio and Television, New Jersey Council of Churches.

Carroll J. Olm has been called to the pastorate of the St. Paul's United Church of Christ, Sheboygan, Wis.

Glenn R. Pratt has been installed as minister of the Westminster Church, Lyndhurst, N.J.

[1950]

Sue Ollie Burt has been appointed Director of Christian Education, First Reformed Church, Schenectady, N.Y.

Earl S. Christman, Jr. is organizing minister for the Presbytery of Washington City in the Columbia Tpk-Sleepy Hollow area of Fairfax County, Va.

Raymond Waddell Moody has been called to the pastorate of the Manito Church, Spokane, Wash.

Mary Virginia Morris is stationed at Irwin Army Hospital, Fort Riley, Kan.

Harold Milton Neufeld is now minister of the Green Hill Church, Wilmington, Del.

Hubert D. Newton has been called to the pastorate of the Westminster Church, Yakima, Wash.

Harlan C. Durfee has been installed as minister of a new church, Westminster Church, Middletown, N.J.

Donald R. Gibson has been called to the pastorate of the Forest Avenue Church, Zanesville, Ohio.

George F. Gillette is minister of the First Church of Ithaca, Mich.

Jean Mould is serving with the Presbyterian Board of Ecumenical Missions at Makung, Pescadores, Taiwan.

Leslie Eugene Pritchard, Jr. has been called to the pastorate of the Second Church, Portsmouth, Ohio.

James F. Warner is teaching English and Mathematics at San Gabriel High School, San Gabriel, Calif.

[1952]

Myron A. Bellinger has been called to the pastorate of the Covensville Union First Presbyterian and West Glade Run Presbyterian Churches, Kittanning, Pa.

Roger W. Hillis has been called to the pastorate of the Westminster Church, Temple City, Calif.

Donald R. Kocher is now minister of the Calvin U. P. Church, Hartsdale, N.Y.

Bruce Larson is on the staff of "Christian Magazine."

James W. McClenden is associate professor at Golden Gate Baptist Theological Seminary, Strawberry Point, Mill Valley, Calif.

John Edwin Smylie has received the degree of Doctor of Theology from Princeton Theological Seminary.

William C. Young is doing graduate work at Columbia University.

[1953]

Frederick J. Beebe has been appointed Associate Field Presbyter, Synod of California, Southern Area.

L. Gordon Blasius has been installed as organizing minister of the North Olmsted United Church, Ohio.

Harry Godber Brahams has been called to the pastorate of the First Church, Monrovia, Calif.

Richard Arden Couch is teaching in Union Seminary, Buenos Aires, Argentina. Mrs. Couch is the former Beatriz E. Melano '57. Mr. Couch has received the degree of Doctor of Theology from Princeton Theological Seminary.

Harvey C. Douie, Jr. has been called to the pastorate of the First Church, Rumson, N.J.

Otto Grundler has received a Presbyterian Graduate Fellowship and will continue his graduate work here at Princeton Theological Seminary.

David Henry Hopper has received the degree of Doctor of Theology from Princeton Seminary and has been appointed assistant professor of Religion, Macalester College.

Ormond LeRoy Hampton has been called to the pastorate of the Pennside Church, Reading, Pa.

Horace M. McMullen has been called to the pastorate of the First Parish Church, Brunswick, Maine.

Richard J. Oman has received the degree of Doctor of Philosophy from Edinburgh University.

Thomas D. Peterson has been called to the pastorate of the Methodist Church, South Glens Falls, N.Y.

James J. Reeb has been appointed assistant minister of the All Souls' Unitarian Church, Washington, D.C.

David W. Weatherford has been installed as curate of St. Paul's Episcopal Church, San Diego, Calif.

[1954]

Martin John Buss has been appointed assistant professor of Bible and Religion at Emory University.

Ronald V. Fleming is serving as interim stated supply for the West Church, Newark, N.J., while studying at Union Seminary and Columbia University.

C. William Hassler is serving as a Sunday School Missionary residing in Kalispell, Mont.

John R. Howard has been called to the pastorate of the First Church, Mt. Sterling, Ky.

Robert William Lyon has been called to the pastorate of the LaPorte Methodist Church, Elyria, Ohio.

William Higgins McGregor is now minister of First Church, Millville, N.J.

Sylvio J. Scorza has been installed as professor of Bible and Greek, Northwestern College, Orange City, Iowa.

John S. Shew has been called to the pastorate of the First Church, Grand Forks, N.D.

Donald R. Sime has been appointed educational director of the Church of Christ, Memphis, Tenn.

Chase Hutchinson Stafford is minister of the Westminster Church, Fresno, Calif.

[1955]

John R. Booker has been appointed assistant minister, Covenant United Presbyterian Church, Hammond, Ind.

Duane V. Fifer has been appointed curate of Christ Church (Episcopal), Hudson, N.Y.

William G. Kaiser is minister of the First Church, Morrill, Neb.

James MacKellar has been called to the pastorate of the First Church, Waverly, N.Y.

Ronald E. Ossmann has been installed as associate minister, Park Blvd. Presbyterian Church, Oakland, Calif.

[1956]

Robert Waldo Jewett has been installed as minister of the Bethany Church, Lancaster, Pa.

Frank Kuo has been installed as assistant minister for youth work and visitation at Westminster Church, Cedar Rapids, Iowa.

Paul M. McKowen is minister of the Community Presbyterian Church, Cannon Beach, Ore.

Vernon H. Neufeld has been appointed assistant professor of Bible, Bethel College, Newton, Kan.

John W. Thomson is organizing pastor of Westminster Church, Westminster, Md.

John G. Truitt, Jr. has been called to the pastorate of the South Norfolk Congregational Christian Church, South Norfolk, Va.

William T. Ward, Jr. has been called to the pastorate of the First Church, Delhi, N.Y.

Walter L. C. Wenhold has been called to the pastorate of the Slateville Church, Delta, Pa.

[1957]

Richard S. Bird has been installed as assistant minister for Christian Education of the Westminster Church, Utica, N.Y. Mrs. Bird is the former Shirley Postlethwaite, '56.

Arden Brock is serving as Chaplain of the State Industrial Home for Women, Williamsport, Pa.

Robert F. Good has been called to the pastorate of the Church at Dutch Neck, N.J.

Keith J. Hardman has been called to the pastorate of the Southwestern U.P. Church, Philadelphia, Pa.

Donald Taylor Kirkwood is minister of the Salem Bible Fellowship Church, Philadelphia, Pa.

H. Ganse Little, Jr. is doing graduate work at Harvard Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, Cambridge, Mass. Mrs. Little is the former Sue Reynolds, '59b.

Robert P. Stokes has been called to the Hegins-Musi Charge, Evangelical United Brethren Churches, Hegins, Pa.

Norman W. Taylor has been called to the

pastorate of the Grace Church, Greenville, Texas.

Donald A. Wright has been appointed minister of education, First Church, Battle Creek, Mich.

[1958]

Leon McDill Allison has been appointed Dean and Professor of Theology at Erskine Theological Seminary, Due West, S.C.

Clarence F. Collins has been called to the pastorate of the First United Presbyterian Church, Newark, N.J.

Alan Hagenbuch has been called to the pastorate of the Slackwood Presbyterian Church, Trenton, N.J.

Mervin Lloyd Hiler has been called to the pastorates of the Presbyterian Churches at Mt. Bethel and Portland, Pa.

Clements E. Lamberth, Jr. has been called to the pastorate of the First Church, Grapevine, Texas.

Donald E. MacFalls has been installed as assistant minister of the Riverdale Church, Hyattsville, Md.

Franke J. Neumann, Jr. has been appointed assistant pastor, Covenant-Central Church, Williamsport, Pa.

Irene Jeffress Overton (Mrs. Kermit E.) is studying in France at the Sorbonne University in preparation for missionary work with her husband in the Camerouns.

Donald B. Rogers has been called as minister of Christian Education, First Christian Church, Eugene, Ore.

Robert E. Wettstone has been appointed associate minister of the First Church, Richardson, Texas.

[1959]

John Mason Cooney has been called to the pastorate of the Fairmount Presbyterian Church, R.D., Califon, N.J. He is also doing graduate work in Anthropology and Sociology at Rutgers University.

Abraham Hsu has been appointed Dean of the Chinese Bible Training Center, Bangkok, Thailand.

Bruce Robertson is assistant minister of the United Presbyterian Church, Upper Montclair, N.J.

Charles Tudor Leber
1898 - 1959

Member of the Board of Trustees of Princeton Theological Seminary, 1951-1959.

On July 30, Dr. Leber died suddenly at São Paulo, Brazil, where he was attending the 18th General Council of the World Presbyterian Alliance and the centenary celebration of the establishment of the Presbyterian Church in Brazil. In May, 1959, the General Secretary of the Commission on Ecumenical Mission and Relations was named an Officer of the Legion of Honor on the 400th Anniversary of the Reformed Church of France.

Plans for the Class of 1959

Albert Wade Anderson, assistant minister, Presbyterian Church, Florissant, Mo.

Merle Smith Arnold, minister, Plains Presbyterian Church, Staatsburg, N.Y.

Leonard Burton Bjorkman, graduate study, Princeton Theological Seminary.

Robert Harry Blackstone, graduate study, Princeton Theological Seminary.

B. Preston Bogia, plans incomplete.

Frederick H. Bronkema, Jr., graduate study, Edinburgh, Scotland.

Thomas Edmond Brown, associate minister, Covenant Presbyterian Church, Trenton, N.J.

Jacob Paul Burkhart, II, graduate study, Princeton Theological Seminary.

Robert William Cahn, minister, West Virginia Mountain Project, Whitesville, W.Va.

Harvey Bruce Calkins, staff minister, Adams-Parkhurst Memorial Presbyterian Church, New York, N.Y.

Hobart G. Campbell, graduate study, Heidelberg University, Germany.

Donald Franklin Chatfield, Erie Chapel, Neighborhood House, Chicago, Ill.

Robert Allen Clark, minister, Presbyterian Church, Rehoboth, Md.

Chad Philip Combs, minister, Manokin Presbyterian Church, Princess Anne, Md.

James E. Craig, assistant minister, Marple Presbyterian Church, Broomall, Pa.

Richard M. Craig, assistant minister, Third Presbyterian Church, Elizabeth, N.J.

Gordon Timothy Cramer, minister, Presbyterian Churches, Marcus, Hunter, and Northport, Wash.

Robert Howard Crilley, minister, Presbyterian Church, Tribes Hill, N.Y.

David Edward Crossley, assistant minister, Larchmont Avenue Presbyterian Church, Larchmont, N.Y.

Donald R. Davis, minister, Upper Spruce Creek Presbyterian Church, Pennsylvania Furnace, Pa.

John W. Davis, minister, Larger Parish, Spring Creek Presbyterian Church, Lemont; Sinking Creek Presbyterian Church, Centre Hall; and Pine Grove Mills Presbyterian Church, Pine Grove, Pa.

Roberto Delgado, Mision Presbiteriana, "San Marcos" Cd. Juarez, Chihuahua, Mexico.

Richard Duane Diller, assistant minister, First Presbyterian Church, Hanford, Calif.

Robert Edwin Dodson, Commission on Ecumenical Mission and Relations (Brazil).

Joseph Stephen Donchez, minister, Weatherly Presbyterian Church, Weatherly, Pa.

Paul Thornton Eckel, graduate study, Scotland.

Eugene Elsdon, minister of Christian Education, La Mesa United Presbyterian Church, La Mesa, Calif.

Carl Erland Ericson, minister, Knox Presbyterian Church, Falls Church, Va.

Robert M. Evans, Commission on Ecumenical Mission and Relations.

Chauncey George Fitzgerald, minister, Presbyterian Church, Mintern, Colo.

William Warner Ford, Jr., minister, First Presbyterian Church, Somerville, Tenn.

James Frazer, plans incomplete.

Robert Stewart Garner, assistant minister, First Presbyterian Church, Mount Vernon, N.Y.

Barrie Gray, graduate study, Institute of Religion, Texas Medical Center, Houston, Texas.

John Paul Hankins, minister, Verbank Methodist Church, Verbank, N.Y.

Joseph Jackson Harber, assistant minister, Presbyterian Church, Leonia, N.J.

Ernest Carl Herr, plans incomplete.

William Hoyt Hervey, graduate study, Princeton Theological Seminary.

Ronald Edward Hill, graduate study, Oklahoma State University.

Peter Carl Holnback, II, plans incomplete.

George Robert Jacks, assistant minister, First Presbyterian Church, Medford, Ore.

David Clyde Jamison, minister, Woodside Presbyterian Church, Troy, N.Y.

Daniel Gordon Jewett, Jr., assistant minister, Presbyterian Church, White Plains, N.Y.

Robert Verne Jones, pastor, Bethania Presbyterian Church, Scranton, and Logan Presbyterian Church, Throop, Pa.

Raymond Earl Judd, Jr., minister, First Presbyterian Church, Clarksville, Texas.

William C. Keene, minister, First Presbyterian Church, Herington, Kan.

Kent W. Kinney, assistant minister, Faith Presbyterian Church, Baltimore, Md.

Margaret Waldo Kramer, director of religious education, Presbyterian Church, Kenmore, N.Y.

Roger Murray Kunkel, assistant minister, Lakeside Presbyterian Church, Duluth, Minn.

Barton Braley Leach, assistant minister, Second Presbyterian Church, Elizabeth, N.J.

Arnold Otto Leverenz, associate minister, Drayton Avenue Presbyterian Church, Ferndale, Mich.

Mervin Allen Line, National Parks chaplain, Yellowstone Park, Wyo.

Bryce Little, Jr., graduate study, McCormick Theological Seminary and Ministers in Industry, Commission on Ecumenical Mission and Relations.

Daniel William Little, minister, Hopewell Presbyterian Church, Brownsville and Dunlap's Creek Presbyterian Church, Merrittstown, Pa.

Robert Ira Long, III, assistant minister, Sixth Presbyterian Church, Washington, D.C.

John C. Mahler, minister, United Presbyterian Church, East Craftsbury, Vt.

Richard Byron Martin, assistant minister, Presbyterian Church, Rye, N.Y.

James Thomas Mathieu, assistant minister, Beverly Hills Community Presbyterian Church, Beverly Hills, Calif.

William Edgar Merryman, Jr., assistant minister, Christ's First Presbyterian Church, Hempstead, Long Island, N.Y.

Darrel Duane Meyers, assistant minister, St. Mark's Presbyterian Church, Van Nuys, Calif.

Daniel L. Migliore, graduate study, Princeton University, Princeton, N.J.

Kenneth E. Miller, minister, First Presbyterian Church, Powhatan Point, Ohio.

Richard Adelbert Mills, minister, First Presbyterian Church, Corinth, N.Y.

Donald Leroy Mitchell, Jr., minister, Presbyterian Church, Chesapeake City, Md.

Donald Watkins Munro, Jr., assistant minister, Sunnyvale Presbyterian Church, Sunnyvale, Calif.

David Franklin Noble, graduate study, Edinburgh, Scotland.

Harry Lars Norlander, United Presbyterian Church Board, Thailand.

Walter L. Owensby, assistant minister, Presbyterian Church, Pennington, N.J.

Bruce Wilson Porter, minister, First Presbyterian Church, Wellsboro, Pa.

Paul Alfonso Riemann, graduate study, Harvard Divinity School, Cambridge, Mass.

Ronald Thane Roberts, minister, West Virginia Mountain Project, Nellis, W.Va.

John Milton Robertson, plans incomplete.

John Mellersh Salmon, graduate study, Princeton Theological Seminary.

Albert Conrad Saunders, assistant minister, Wallingford Presbyterian Church, Wallingford, Pa.

James A. Schumacher, minister, First Presbyterian Church, Rochester, Ind.

Alfred Otto Siegel, minister, Presbyterian Churches, Hortonville and Cochecton, N.Y.

Louise Adelle Smith, graduate study, Yale Divinity School, New Haven, Conn.

George Herman Spriggs, assistant minister, Second Presbyterian Church, St. Louis, Mo.

Paul William Stake, assistant minister, First Presbyterian Church, Rochester, Minn.

John H. Staples, chaplain, U.S. Army.

Donald Raymond Steelberg, plans incomplete.

Richard Randolph Streeter, plans incomplete.

Darrell Leonard Syferd, minister, First Presbyterian Church, Waitsburg, Wash.

Lawrence Wesley Thomas, minister, Presbyterian Church, Frankfort, Kan.

Joseph James Thompson, minister, Chillisquaque Cooperative Parish, Northumberland Presbytery, Mooresburg and Potts Grove, Pa.

Edward Thue Triem, graduate study, Institute of Religion, Texas Medical Center, Houston, Texas.

Janvier Willison Voelkel, Presbyterian Church, Port Cartier, Province of Quebec, Canada.

Neil Clark Warren, graduate study, University of Chicago, Chicago, Ill.

John George Weber, minister, Presbyterian Church, Millerstown, Pa.

Rea Spear Weigel, graduate study, Edinburgh, Scotland.

Robert E. Wettstone, assistant minister, First Presbyterian Church, Richardson, Texas.

William Boardman Wilcox, minister, Otisco Presbyterian Church, Tully, N.Y.

Harold George Williams, Jr., minister, Presbyterian Church, Rush and Elysburg, Pa.

Wallace George Winegard, minister, Barre Center Presbyterian Church, Albion, N.Y.

Kenneth Neal Wood, minister, Presbyterian Church, Loyalsoch Township, Williamsport, Pa.

DEGREES, FELLOWSHIPS, AND PRIZES

Commencement, June 9, 1959

Master of Religious Education (Prin.)

Margaret Waldo Kramer, B.S. Taylor University, 1946

Bachelors of Divinity

Albert Wade Anderson, B.S. Washington University, 1956

Merle Smith Arnold, A.B. Findlay College, 1955

Leonard Burton Bjorkman, A.B. Johns Hopkins University, 1953

Robert Harry Blackstone, A.B. University of California at Los Angeles, 1955

Benjamin Preston Bogia, A.B. Maryville College, 1956

Frederick H. Bronkema, Jr., A.B. Whitworth College, 1956

Thomas Edmond Brown, A.B. University of South Carolina, 1955

Jacob Paul Burkhart, II, A.B. Dickinson College, 1956

Robert William Cahn, A.B. University of Pennsylvania, 1956

Harvey Bruce Calkins, A.B. University of California, 1956

Hobart Gale Campbell, A.B. College of Wooster, 1956

Donald Franklin Chatfield, A.B. Yale University, 1956

Robert Allen Clark, A.B. Macalester College, 1956

Chad Philip Combs, A.B. University of Nevada, 1956

James Edward Craig, A.B. Grove City College, 1956

Richard Muzzy Craig, A.B. College of Wooster, 1956

Gordon Timothy Cramer, A.B. Whitworth College, 1955

Robert Howard Crilley, A.B. Waynesburg College, 1956

David Edward Crossley, A.B. Whitworth College, 1955

Donald Ray Davis, A.B. Lehigh University, 1951

John William Davis, B.S. Pennsylvania State University, 1956

Robert Delgado, A.B. Wheaton College, 1954

Richard Duane Diller, A.B. University of California, 1956

Robert Edwin Dodson, A.B. University of California, 1955

Joseph Stephen Donchez, A.B. Muhlenberg College, 1956

Paul Thornton Eckel, A.B. University of Maryland, 1956

Eugene Elsdon, A.B. Long Beach State College, 1956

Carl Erland Ericson, A.B. Illinois College, 1934

Robert Maxwell Evans, A.B. Stanford University, 1956

Chauncey George Fitzgerald, A.B. University of California at Los Angeles, 1956

William Warner Ford, Jr., A.B. Southwestern at Memphis, 1955

James Frazer, B.Sc. Queen's University, Belfast, 1955

Robert Stewart Garner, A.B. Duke University, 1956

Barrie Gray, A.B. Syracuse University, 1955

John Paul Hankins, A.B. Asbury College, 1955

Joseph Jackson Harber, A.B. University of Kentucky, 1955

Ernest Carl Herr, A.B. New York University, 1956
William Hoyt Hervey, A.B. Michigan State University, 1952
Ronald Edward Hill, B.S. Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College, 1954
Peter Carl Holnback, II, A.B. University of California at Los Angeles, 1941
George Robert Jacks, A.B. DePauw University, 1956
David Clyde Jamison, A.B. Florida Southern College, 1956
Daniel Gordon Jewett, Jr., B.S. Rutgers University, 1955
Robert Verne Jones, A.B. University of California, 1956
Raymond Earl Judd, Jr., A.B. Trinity University, Texas, 1956
William Clifford Keene, A.B. College of Wooster, 1958
Kent Ward Kinney, A.B. University of California at Los Angeles, 1956
Roger Murray Kunkel, A.B. Westminster College, Missouri, 1956
Barton Braley Leach, A.B. University of Pennsylvania, 1955
Arnold Otto Leverenz, B.Mus. Westminster Choir College, 1947; M. Mus. University of Southern California, 1953
Mervin Allen Line, A.B. Tusculum College, 1956
Bryce Little, Jr., A.B. University of Washington, 1954
Daniel William Little, A.B. Waynesburg College, 1956
Robert Ira Long, III, A.B. Park College, 1956
John Chandler Mahler, A.B. Bob Jones University, 1955
Richard Byron Martin, A.B. Colgate University, 1956
James Thomas Mathieu, A.B. Grove City College, 1956
William Edgar Merryman, Jr., A.B. University of Delaware, 1956
Darrel Duane Meyers, A.B. George Pepperdine College, 1956
Daniel Leo Migliore, A.B. Westminster College, Pennsylvania, 1956
Kenneth Elmer Miller, A.B. Geneva College, 1956
Richard Adelbert Mills, A.B. University of Michigan, 1956
Donald Leroy Mitchell, Jr., A.B. Lafayette College, 1956
Donald Watkins Munro, Jr., A.B. University of California, 1956
David Franklin Noble, A.B. Wesleyan University, 1956
Harry Lars Norlander, A.B. Drew University, 1948; M.A. University of Michigan, 1949
Walter Lee Owensby, A.B. Wayne State University, 1956
Bruce Wilson Porter, A.B. Muskingum College, 1956
Paul Alfonso Riemann, A.B. Wheaton College, 1955
Ronald Thane Roberts, A.B. College of Emporia, 1956
John Milton Robertson, A.B. Moravian College, 1956
John Mellersh Salmon, A.B. Austin College, 1956
Albert Conrad Saunders, A.B. Hamilton College, 1954
James Alan Schumacher, A.B. College of Wooster, 1956
Alfred Otto Siegel, A.B. Gettysburg College, 1956
Louise Adelle Smith, A.B. College of Wooster, 1956
George Herman Spriggs, A.B. Alma College, 1956
Paul William Stake, A.B. Grove City College, 1956
John Harrison Staples, A.B. University of Washington, 1956

Donald Raymond Steelberg, A.B. Northwestern University, 1956
Richard Randolph Streeter, A.B. Colgate University, 1955
Darrell Leonard Syferd, A.B. Whitworth College, 1956
Lawrence Wesley Thomas, B.S. Case Institute of Technology, 1953
Joseph James Thompson, A.B. Grove City College, 1956
Edward Thue Triem, A.B. College of Wooster, 1956
Janvier Willison Voelkel, A.B. Wheaton College, 1956
Neil Clark Warren, A.B. George Pepperdine College, 1956
John George Weber, A.B. Duke University, 1956
Rea Spear Weigel, A.B. University of Pittsburgh, 1956
Robert Emil Wettstone, A.B. College of Wooster, 1955
William Boardman Wilcox, B.S. Cornell University, 1955
Harold George Williams, Jr., A.B. Bucknell University, 1956
Wallace George Winegard, A.B. Union College, 1956
Kenneth Neal Wood, A.B. Westminster College, Pennsylvania, 1956

Masters of Theology

Douglas Estill Bartlett, A.B. Bloomfield College and Seminary, 1952; B.D. Princeton Theological Seminary, 1955
Francis William Browne, A.B. College of Wooster, 1941; B.D. Princeton Theological Seminary, 1949
Carlos M. Camps, Havana University; Th.B. Union Theological Seminary, Matanzas, Cuba, 1951
Choan-Sheng Cheng, Taiwan Theological College, 1948
William Richard Comstock, A.B. University of California, 1948; B.D. Princeton Theological Seminary, 1954
Charles Terrance Connor, A.B. Macalester College, 1955; B.D. Princeton Theological Seminary, 1958
Demetrios John Constantelos, A.B. Holy Cross Greek Orthodox Theological School, 1958
Donald Allen Crosby, A.B. Davidson College, 1953; B.D. Princeton Theological Seminary, 1956
Robert Williams Crowther, Jr., A.B. University of Pennsylvania, 1951; B.D. Drew Theological Seminary, 1956
Harvey Crawford Douie, A.B. University of Pennsylvania, 1950; B.D. Princeton Theological Seminary, 1953
William Nale Falls, A.B. Erskine College, 1939; B.D. Erskine Theological Seminary, 1941
Lyle Burton Gangsei, A.B. St. Olaf College, 1942; Th.B. Luther Theological Seminary, Minnesota, 1945
Howard Jay Habegger, B.S. Taylor University, 1954; S.T.B. Biblical Seminary in New York, 1958
Arnold Cornelius Harms, Jr., B.S. University of California at Los Angeles, 1951; B.D. Fuller Theological Seminary, 1955
Samuel Randolph Holder, A.B. Frankfort Pilgrim College, 1954; B.D. School of Religion, Butler University, 1957
Merritt Conrad Hyers, A.B. Carson-Newman College, 1954; B.D. Eastern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1958
Robert Lee Kelley, Jr., A.B. University of Pittsburgh, 1948; B.D. Pittsburgh-Xenia Theological Seminary, 1951
Henry Thomesen Littlejohn, A.B. Seattle Pacific College, 1949; M.A.

University of California, 1953; B.D. San Francisco Theological Seminary, 1952

Donald Edward MacFalls, A.B. College of Wooster, 1955; B.D. Princeton Theological Seminary, 1958

Christopher Madison Meadows, III, A.B. Baylor University, 1955; B.D. Southern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1958

Ralph Llewellyn Miller, A.B. Houghton College, 1955; B.D. Princeton Theological Seminary, 1958

Douglas Alexander Muir, B.Comm. University of Toronto, 1951; B.D. Emmanuel College, Toronto, 1955

Milton Louis Nolin, A.B. Otterbein College, 1951; B.D. McCormick Theological Seminary, 1954

Edward Obert Nyhus, A.B. Augsburg College, 1954; Th.B. Augsburg Theological Seminary, 1957

Ronald Dean Olson, A.B. Bethel College, 1955; B.D. Fuller Theological Seminary, 1958

Harry Frederick Petersen, III, B.S. Davidson College, 1955; B.D. Columbia Theological Seminary, 1958

Edward Otto Poole, A.B. Wheaton College, 1953; S.T.B. Temple University School of Theology, 1956

Marcus Brown Prince, III, A.B. Presbyterian College, 1954; B.D. Columbia Theological Seminary, 1957

Raiji Mavji Rathod, Leonard Theological College, India, 1948; B.D. Asbury Theological Seminary, 1958

Roland Broaddus Rosson, Jr., A.B. Duke University, 1947; B.D. Yale University Divinity School, 1951

Haruo Saiki, Ehime Normal College, Japan, 1948; Tokyo Union Theological Seminary, 1952; B.D. Mission House Theological Seminary, 1958

James Forbes Seunarine, A.B. University of Toronto, 1947; B.D. Emmanuel College, Toronto, 1950

Rondell Bryce Shaw, B.S. University of Nevada, 1949; B.D. Fuller Theological Seminary, 1955

Robert McElroy Shelton, A.B. Maryville College, 1955; B.D. Cumberland Presbyterian Theological Seminary, 1958

Trygve Rolf Skarsten, A.B. Wagner College, 1949; Th.B. Luther Theological Seminary, Minnesota, 1953

Robert Paul Stokes, A.B. Bob Jones University, 1953; B.D. Evangelical Theological Seminary, 1956

Walter Dray Wagoner, A.B. Yale University, 1941; B.D. Yale University Divinity School, 1945

Donald Morton Walter, A.B. Lafayette College, 1955; B.D. Princeton Theological Seminary, 1958

Julian Dennick Wick, A.B. Oberlin College, 1951; B.D. Princeton Theological Seminary, 1958

Doctors of Theology

Richard Min-Jui Chen, A.B. St. John's University, Shanghai, 1949; B.D. Melbourne College of Divinity, Australia, 1955; Dissertation: Confucius' Concept of Man.

Richard Arden Couch, A.B. Haverford College, 1949; B.D. Princeton Theological Seminary, 1953; Dissertation: An Evaluation and Reformulation of the Doctrine of Common Grace in the Reformed Tradition.

Yasuo Carl Furuya, Union Theological Seminary, Tokyo, 1951; B.D. San Francisco Theological Seminary, 1952; Dissertation: The Absoluteness-Claim of Christianity.

Leon Wilbur Gibson, A.B. Houghton College, 1946; B.D. Asbury Theological Seminary, 1948; Dissertation:

Nietzsche's Case Against Christianity.

Ian Gillman, A.B. University of Sydney, Australia, 1953; St. Andrew's College, Sydney, 1956; B.D. Melbourne College of Divinity, 1957; Dissertation: The Brightness of the New Era: A Study of the Church from 300 to 339 A.D.

David Henry Hopper, A.B. Yale University, 1950; B.D. Princeton Theological Seminary, 1953; Dissertation: Presuppositions of the Method of Correlation: A Study of the Theological Method of Paul Tillich.

Sverre Theodore Jacobson, A.B. University of Saskatchewan, 1946; B.D. Luther Theological Seminary, Saskatoon, 1947; Dissertation: The Interpersonalism of Guilt and Forgiveness in the Writings of Harry Stack Sullivan and Emil Brunner.

Kosuke Koyama, Union Theological Seminary, Tokyo, 1952; B.D. Drew Theological Seminary, 1954; Th.M. Princeton Theological Seminary, 1955; Dissertation: What Does it Mean to Have a God? According to Luther's Second Commentary on the First Twenty-two Psalms (Operationes in Psalmos, 1519-1521): A Study of the Theology of Faith and the Theology of Immediacy.

Robert Leonard McIntire, A.B. College of Emporia, 1936; Th.B. Princeton Theological Seminary, 1939; ThM. 1946; Dissertation: Portrait of Half a Century: Fifty Years of Presbyterianism in Brazil.

Millard Richard Shaull, A.B. Elizabethtown College, 1938; Th.B. Princeton Theological Seminary, 1941; Th.M. 1946; Dissertation: An Examination of Some of the Implications of Recent Developments in the World Situation and in the Theology of Missions for the Form and Structure of the Church's Life and Mission.

John Edwin Smylie, A.B. Washington University, 1949; B.D. Princeton Theological Seminary, 1952; Dissertation: Protestant Clergymen and America's World Role, 1865-1900.

AWARDS

The Fellowship in Old Testament

John Mellersh Salmon

The Fellowship in New Testament

David Franklin Noble

The Fellowship in Applied Christianity

Daniel Leo Migliore

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Bernard George Weiss

The Benjamin Stanton Prize in Old Testament

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Middler, John William McC. Miller
Junior, William Turner Bryant

The Second Mary Long Greir Prize in Speech and Homiletics

Middler, Bernard George Weiss
Junior, Robert Arthur Beringer

The William Tennent Scholarship

Grace Joan Geerdes

BOOK REVIEWS

Archaeology and the Old Testament, by James B. Pritchard. Princeton University Press, Princeton, N.J., 1958. Pp. xii + 263. $5.00.

The author of this attractive book is professor of Old Testament Literature at the Church Divinity School of the Pacific, Berkeley, California, and is the well-known editor of the two important volumes: *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*, 2nd edition (1955) and *The Ancient Near East in Pictures Relating to the Old Testament* (1954), both published by the Princeton University Press. Professor Pritchard describes archaeology as a science in which progress can be measured by the advances made backward into the past. He uses non-technical language which the layman can understand, but in so doing he has not sacrificed scientific accuracy. This book adequately shows that Biblical archaeology extends beyond the limits of Palestine into the adjacent lands of Mesopotamia, Egypt, Syria, and Asia Minor; accordingly it becomes obvious to the student of the Bible that a knowledge of the history of the Ancient Near East is essential for understanding the Old Testament.

The book consists of six chapters, the first of which considers the science of Palestinian archaeology, which according to Pritchard began in 1890 with the work of W. M. Flinders Petrie. In this connection, using Tell el-Hesi as an illustration, the author in a diagram of strata indicates how eight successive cities stood on the same site. He calls pottery the essential alphabet of archaeology, and in Figure 5 he represents the types of pottery characteristic of the principal periods in the history of Palestine. In this case he begins with the chalcolithic age (4000 B.C.) and goes through the three bronze ages, the two iron ages and the Persian and Hellenistic periods, thus concluding with 63 B.C. In the same chapter he discusses the Lachish letters as a supplement to Jeremiah, the stables of Solomon at Megiddo, the Siloam tunnel of Hezekiah, and the Dead Sea Scrolls.

In the second chapter the author devotes himself to the making of the map of Palestine, in connection with which he touches upon the work of Edward Robinson, who made the first scientific exploration in the Holy Land. The story of the identification of various Biblical sites is well presented and concludes with Pritchard's own excavation at el-Jib, where inscribed jar handles have removed all doubts of the location of the pool of Gibeon (2 Sam. 2:13).

The importance of the religion of Canaan is known to students of the Old Testament, and in Chapter 3 the author takes up that theme. He first considers the inscriptions: that on the sarcophagus of Eshmunazar, king of Sidon (fifth century B.C.), that on the sarcophagus of Ahiram, king of Byblos (*c.* tenth century B.C.), and that on the Moabite stone of Mesha, king of Moab, who was a contemporary of Omri, king of Israel. The chapter concludes with the discovery in 1929-30 of the tablets at Ras Shamra, ancient Ugarit; the importance of the Ugaritic literature for Old Testament studies is pointed out in interesting fashion in language that the non-specialist will appreciate and which will enable him to visualize the environment in which ancient Israel had to live.

The fourth chapter opens with the fascinating account of the decipherment of cuneiform and the discovery of Assyrian remains and historical inscriptions. Here the author with translations and attractive pictures shows how the Assyrian records have elucidated the history of Israel and enabled us to set the Chosen People into the international scene.

"Myth in the Ancient Near East" is the title of the fifth chapter. Ultimately to most Biblical students the relation of Babylonian literature to the Pentateuch will continue to arouse a lively interest. In this connection should be mentioned the Babylonian poems of creation and the flood as well as that of the loss of immortality; in his discussion of the source of this ancient material Pritchard takes us back to the ancient Sumerians, from whom the Semitic invaders of the valley of the Two Rivers received these stories. Of supreme importance in the study of the Mosaic laws are the Code of Hammurabi and other legal systems that are treated in the

sixth or final chapter, which concludes with Egyptian and Babylonian wisdom in comparison with that of the Old Testament.

The author has given us a sane presentation and maintains that perhaps the most notable achievement of Near Eastern archaeology in the past century is the new perspective in time and space for viewing the ancient world. The illustrations are superb, and the small maps are a great aid in finding the location of various sites. A glossary of three pages of proper names and technical terms is useful to the student of ancient Near Eastern literature and religion. This is an excellent book and will have a worthy place in the minister's library.

HENRY S. GEHMAN

The Ancient Near East—An Anthology of Texts and Pictures, by James B. Pritchard. Princeton University Press, Princeton, N.J. 1958. Pp. xix + 380. $6.00.

The aim of this volume is to make available in convenient form those ancient Near Eastern documents which are important for understanding the Old Testament. Reference has been made in the above review to the two extensive volumes edited by Professor Pritchard, and most of the translations in this book are taken from his larger work: *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament.* The contents of this book are sufficiently extensive, however, to be used with profit by the student who does not have the volume on the *Texts* and its companion on the *Pictures.*

The practical value of this anthology can be judged by citing some of the literature it contains: from the Egyptian, the Story of Sinuhe, the story of Two Brothers, the Journey of Wen-Amon to Phoenicia, the Tradition of Seven Lean Years in Egypt; from the Sumerian and the Akkadian, the Deluge, the Creation Epic, the Epic of Gilgamesh, and Adapa; from the Ugaritic, Baal and Anath and the Tale of Aqhat. The chapter on Legal Texts contains the Laws of Eshnunna and the Code of Hammurabi. The historical texts deal with Egypt, Assyria, and Babylonia insofar as they have a connection with the Old Testament. Among the Palestinian inscriptions are found the Gezer Calendar, the Moabite Stone, the Ostraca of Samaria, the Siloam Inscription and the Lachish Ostraca. Mention should also be made of the selections of Wisdom literature. The Biblical references in the margins facilitate the comparison of the non-Biblical texts with the Old Testament.

The translated texts are followed by 197 appropriate pictures (pp. 285-373). A fine map of the Ancient Near East is printed on the inside of the cover and on the flyleaf. The volume closes with a rather complete Index and Glossary. This book is heartily recommended to students and ministers who do not require Professor Pritchard's two extensive volumes in this field.

HENRY S. GEHMAN

Comparative Liturgy, by Anton Baumstark, revised by Bernard Botte, English edition by F. L. Cross. The Newman Press, Westminster, Md., 1958. Pp. 249. $6.50.

This volume makes available in English a classic work by the veteran liturgist, Anton Baumstark. Baumstark, who died in 1948, was a devout Roman Catholic layman who possessed an encyclopedic knowledge of the Eastern Churches. Thoroughly at home in Arabic, Armenian, Coptic, Ethiopic, Georgian, Syriac, as well as many of the European languages, he was able to consult the original documents of all the ancient Rites. While teaching at Bonn and at Nijmegen he developed a new methodology in the investigation of the history of Liturgy, namely what he called Comparative Liturgy, a counterpart of Comparative Philology and Comparative Religion. Fortunately for the prosecution of this method, there is an abundance of material available for the tracing of similarities and diversities among the ancient Rites. In his synthesis of these materials he came to believe that there were certain patterns in liturgical expression of constant recurrence throughout the Eastern Churches as well as, in some cases, in the Western Church as well.

After describing the aims and methods of the comparative study of liturgy, Baumstark discusses what he regards as laws of liturgical evolution and the structure of the great liturgical units. In successive chapters he deals with stereotyped prayers, liturgical

poetry, psalmody and liturgical lections, liturgical action, and the great ancient feasts. A bibliographical appendix contains an enormous amount of information bearing on more than a dozen ancient Rites.

Those who are acquainted with Baumstark's other publications will recognize in this volume his characteristic comprehensive grasp of the subject and his ability to make fresh and sometimes startling syntheses out of what are apparently quite disparate data. At the same time Baumstark's weaknesses are also evident, namely, the rigid formulation of certain hypotheses (in this case, certain "laws" of the evolution of the liturgy) and the unwarranted use he occasionally made of them in confining what happened in history within an artificial framework that does violence to the facts. In view of these deficiencies, therefore, it is good that the present edition of Baumstark's monumental work has the benefit of certain critical footnotes, supplied by Dom Bernard Botte, the distinguished Patristic and liturgical scholar of the Abbey of Mont Cesar.

Though this volume is the most comprehensive treatment of the subject available today, so vast is the subject that much still remains to be investigated. What, for example, was the history of the development of the Greek lectionary system and, in particular, when and where was the choice made of the prescribed Scripture lessons for the synaxarion and the chief feasts of the menologinon? How far did Palestinian usage influence the Antiochian and the Constantinopolitan patterns? In spite of the absence of answers to these and other questions that might be asked, Baumstark's book is undoubtedly a landmark in the literature bearing on the history of ancient Christian Rites.

BRUCE M. METZGER

John White, by Augustus Muir, Hodder and Stoughton Limited, London, 1958. Pp. 478. 42s.

Of all the able and influential leaders whom the Church of Scotland has enlisted in its service during the present century, the late Dr. John White was undoubtedly the most outstanding. He took a prominent part in virtually all the great movements by which the Church was stirred during the half-century which began in 1900. This full-length biography of him, written by the distinguished literary man Augustus Muir, presents an admirable and authoritative survey of his life and work.

Many who knew White only from his public appearances, or as a committee man, tended to think of him primarily as an ecclesiastic—i.e. one interested mainly in the public organizational life of the Church. But this book makes it clear that White was, first and deepest of all, a devoted and successful parish minister, with a profound pastoral concern for the membership of all three churches which he served so effectively—Shettleston, South Leith, and the Barony of Glasgow. To be sure, he had a succession of devoted assistants and other associates, who shouldered part of the pastoral burden. But their efforts were in addition to, and not a substitute for, his own: he took his full share in the work of his parishes.

The most important public movement with which White's name will always be inseparably linked was, of course, the union of the United Free Church with the Church of Scotland, of which, as the late W. P. Paterson once said, White was "the chief instrument and symbol." Negotiations for this reintegration of the forces of Scottish Presbyterianism began in 1909, and the actual union was consummated in 1929. During all these twenty years of deliberation White was a prominent member of the negotiating committee of the Church of Scotland, beginning in 1909 as Clerk and ending as Joint Convener. This biography describes some of the formidable difficulties which blocked the way—difficulties arising partly from the United Free Church's misgivings concerning the Church of Scotland's connection with the secular state, but stemming also from some of the "Scoto-Catholic" ministers of the Church of Scotland who feared that their distinctive testimony might be bargained away by White and his fellow negotiators. Eventually, thanks in no small measure to White's tireless patience and his genius for conciliation, an agreement was reached which satisfied practically all fair-minded men on both sides. On the basis of this agreement the British Parliament passed Acts in 1921 and 1925, giving its statutory approval to what the Church of Scotland had planned;

and in 1929 the union was effected between the two negotiating churches to form one Church of Scotland, national, united, and as free from State regulation as any church in Christendom. Of the first General Assembly of this united Church White was chosen as Moderator by acclamation, a fitting tribute to the contribution which he had made to the union movement.

White's interest in church union, however, was not for its own sake, but because of the vital contribution which the reunited Church could make to the Christian good of Scotland. In particular, he was deeply concerned that the national Church should provide the ordinances of the Christian religion in the new housing areas into which so large a percentage of Scotland's population—the so-called "churchless million"—moved during the period between the two World Wars. Adopting as his motto "The Church in the midst," White in 1932 laid before the General Assembly a plan for the speeding up of church building in these new housing areas. The "threadbare thirties" were not a propitious period in which to collect money, even for church purposes; but the 180,000 pounds for which White asked were raised by 1936. After World War II, re-housing in Scotland proceeded at an accelerated tempo. Accordingly, White as early as 1945 sought another million pounds for church extension, and threw himself ardently during the closing years of his life into the work of raising this vast sum. These and other activities of White are fully described in the present biography.

It may be that some episodes in which he played a part—e.g. the Govan case of 1948-1950, when Dr. George F. Macleod wished to return to his former parish of Govan without adequately divesting himself of his responsibilities in the Iona Community—are given more space than they deserve. But there can be no doubt that this book paints a lifelike picture of a man whose outstanding abilities would have won for him preeminence in any walk of life that he cared to choose, but who found his life's work in joyful and fruitful service to the Church of his fathers. It also makes a memorable contribution to the ecclesiastical history of Scotland during the first half of the present century.

NORMAN V. HOPE

The Gospel on Campus, by Charles S. McCoy and Neely D. McCarter. John Knox Press, Richmond, Va., 1959. Pp. 123. $1.50.

This is the best book I have read on campus evangelism. It is both scholarly and practical. McCoy and McCarter have worked extensively with students at the University of Florida, the former as Methodist minister who teaches religion and the latter as a Presbyterian University pastor. The language is virile and the style interesting. Much of the content partakes of the experience of the campus and world of college youth. It "was hammered out in the face of campus realities, with the help of faculty, students and campus pastors at many colleges." Its realism, the authors admit, may be shocking to some and common knowledge to others.

The authors have little sympathy for "decision-demanding, prayer-mongering, number-conscious soul-savers." Nor do they have much use for an "intellectual gospel which penetrates no deeper than the upper cerebral processes." And they are wary of an evangelism that gives people "healthy experiences of growth" without reaching the personal level of a call to commitment. They believe that only God can save souls and bring men to decision for Christ. But, they believe that men can work to mold patterns which make this decision of faith more likely through human witness.

Much is made in this study of evangelism to redeem man where he is, in his human relationships, and in the social structures of campus life. The goal of evangelism is the total life of man in community. And since the "structures" of campus life are so powerful in the life of the student, campus evangelism must recognize the deep involvements of persons in the academic society.

This study is a fresh approach to campus evangelism. An excellent Bibliography is included. And while I am enthusiastic about the treatment of evangelism presented in this book, I have the feeling that with all our recent studies in evangelism, we are not really breaking through in any significant and tangible way to the existential life of the student with the Gospel. Interest there is in religion on every campus; but results in terms of committed lives is another matter. This book poses the problems and even offers

ways of communicating the Gospel. But one wonders whether the Gospel is being accepted and whether it is effecting the Body of Christ in any measurable degree.

E. G. Homrighausen

The Christian Shepherd, by Seward Hiltner. Abingdon, Nashville, Tenn., 1959. Pp. 190. $3.00.

Taking his departure from the fact that there is a genuine revival of theology today, and that the unique nature of the Christian faith poses the problem of relating it to the affairs of society and individual persons, Seward Hiltner proceeds to show the relationship of theology to the pastoral work of the Church and of the minister. One of the focal concepts of the Gospel is that of shepherding. Indeed, it is integrally related to the Gospel's command to heal. Of course, shepherding does not describe the total function of the person we call "pastor." He is called upon to shepherd, communicate and organize.

Two basic principles of shepherding are treated by Hiltner: First, that of concern and acceptance of the person or persons being ministered to, and second, that of clarification and judgment. "Clarification is the process by which forces that have been shadowy, vague, and therefore unassailable, are brought into the arena of awareness where they confront each other in daylight and fight it out." This is what is meant by "judgment" in the Christian sense. It comes from within the person with the problem. He must make the judgment regarding himself on the basis of insight. Hiltner hints at a third principle of shepherding, namely, "the specific ways by which the shepherd may reflect upon his own part in the shepherding activity and may thus bring more humility and self-understanding to his task."

Six chapters of this book deal with shepherding the grieving, the family, the class-conscious, the organization man, the rebels, and the housewives. Quite a collection!

The last two chapters deal helpfully with fellowship and the shepherding ministry, and the seven ages of man. Case histories amply illustrate the text.

While there is not much that is new in this book, it is a good introduction for theological students and ministers who would apply the spirit of the true shepherd's heart to human problems. Hiltner rightly makes poimenics an integral part of the ministry and of the Church.

E. G. Homrighausen

The Liturgical Movement and the Local Church, by Alfred R. Shands. London: Student Christian Movement, London, 1959. Pp. 126. 8s. 6d.

Alfred R. Shands is now at the Church of the Advent, Louisville, Kentucky. He studied at Princeton University, St. Andrews and Cambridge Universities, and Virginia Theological Seminary from which he received the B.D. degree. Keenly interested in the liturgical movement and the experiments now being made toward the rehabilitation of the Church as a living body in such places as Iona, Colombes, Maria Leach, Halton, Taize, he has now put some of his observations into print. He refers to Allan's *The Face of My Parish*, DeBlaank's *The Parish in Action*, Halton's *The Parish Come Alive*, Michonneau's *Revolution in a City Parish* and *The Missionary Spirit in Parish Life*, and *Mission de France*.

Shands declares that "the local church has been rediscovered!" It may not be noticeable on a large scale, but it is a fact. It is marked by a "renewed understanding of the role of the local church." A "new depth" is discerned in the nature and function of the authentic Christian community. The people of God are realizing the infinite importance of fulfilling their role and of finding new ways of expressing their life together. It is this which Shands regards as the heart of the "liturgical movement."

Those who are not in the tradition represented by Shands will be greatly profited by his discussion of the meaning of the liturgical movement. He does not regard it as an emphasis upon ceremonial or outward trappings. Rather, it is an emphasis upon the reintegration and wholeness of life in and before God, participation in the continuous worship of the Church, and the priesthood of Christ and His body in action which becomes man's action through Him. The basic idea in "liturgy," or service, is action not passivity; and it is total action on the part

of the individual in community. "All life in Christ is merely working out in the world what is inherent in liturgy." We are liturgical when we love the brethren. This is the heart of the liturgical movement.

The contents of this thin volume deal with the parish as seen from the liturgical point of view, the relation of the parish of Christian persons to the community about it, the priesthood of the laity, and the way in which such a congregation may be the mission of God in the world. Sharp criticisms are offered against certain aspects of Anglican liturgical life. Helpful suggestions are offered about the meaning of Baptism and Communion. Positive pointers are given on the family and the house Church. An excellent Bibliography is attached. And an interesting section deals with "paraliturgics," that half-way movement of the congregation towards those outside its life.

This is a most helpful treatment of an important aspect of the current renewal of parish life. Churchmen, whether high or low, would profit by reading this book. It emphasizes something which is ecumenical in the best sense of the term. And it recalls ministers and laymen to an essential ingredient, perhaps the essential character, of the Christian faith.

E. G. Homrighausen

A Book of Public Prayers, by Harry Emerson Fosdick. Harper & Brothers, New York, 1959. Pp. 190. $3.00.

A minister's prayers are frequently a truer index of his nature than is his preaching. Through his preaching he exposes his mental acumen and academic prowess, but chiefly in his prayers do the depth and range of his sympathetic concern and spiritual devotion show themselves. A preacher may find it to be an easy matter to maintain freshness and variety in his sermons, but he will always have difficulty in supplying the same qualities in his prayers. It is with this concern in mind that Harry Emerson Fosdick speaks in the Introduction to *A Book of Public Prayers* about "the widespread inadequacy of public prayer in their [nonliturgical churches] services of worship" (p. 7). He calls praying "a sacred, soul-searching task" that demands "expert skill and pains-taking preparation." He is aware of the pitfalls of superficial extemporaneous praying, and he discusses its characteristics—"narrowly self-centered," "vague generalities," "confused jumble of all sorts of requests," and "repetitious rehearsal of the same petitions in much the same words." As an antidote to the faults he deplores, Dr. Fosdick gives us—only in response to much persuasion and still with hesitation and misgiving—this book of prayers "as one man's attempt to do the best he knew how" (p. 9).

This volume consists of fifty-six pastoral prayers, fifteen for special occasions, three for times of special need, and thirteen litanies. In form and language they are models of devotional expression. Here is a skilful blending of the traditional concepts of divine service with the vocabulary of human need. Many of the sentences arrest our attention and touch our most vital spiritual necessities—"Not for soft and easy lives we pray, but for great resources" (p. 25). "Recenter our lives around faith instead of fear" (p. 28). "Grant us a rebirth of holy indignation against things evil and corrupt" (p. 83). Again and again we sense Biblical overtones as well as echoes of great hymns of the Christian faith, and of the classic voices of piety such as Augustine, Pascal, Cranmer, and others. Here is a great mind at prayer, talking in the language of the common soul with the Source of all human life and hope.

These prayers represent a tremendous amount of mental toil and emotional output. Young ministers who will take time to read and study these prayers will note especially Fosdick's wide knowledge of human nature, the predominance of joy in his thanksgiving, the comprehensiveness of his petitions and intercessions, and the absence of any sameness in the course of almost two hundred pages of liturgical expression. Just as in preaching Dr. Fosdick marked a turning point in the American sermon, so also might this book of prayers, in showing us how to do a great thing well, have a decisive effect upon the form and quality of the devotions of nonliturgical churches. Any preacher who uses these prayers in his private devotions can not help being a better man and in his public worship, a more helpful pastor generally.

Donald Macleod

The Ministry of Preaching, by Roy Pearson. Harper & Brothers, New York, 1959. Pp. 127. $2.25.

Nowadays any book on preaching begins usually with an apology based upon the hypothetical complaint that there are already enough volumes on sermons and sermonizing. In this particular case the plea is unwarranted because the author has given us a book of homiletical discussions of quite unusual strength and perception. Dr. Pearson, who is dean of Andover-Newton Theological School, has a great deal to say to us, and he says it extremely well.

In eight concise and lucid chapters, the author discusses the function, context, and integrity of preaching with unusual penetration and exposes the deeper responsibilities of the minister's calling. Some readers may take exception to his doctrine of the Church or look for a stronger statement of the role of the minister in worship, but everyone will be inclined to name this volume as one of the most interesting and thoughtful little books on preaching to appear in the past decade.

Dr. Pearson writes well. He has an original turn of phrase that is refreshing. He has more than a passing knowledge of modern literature and therefore his many contemporary allusions lend interest to what he says and help to associate preaching with the vital language of today rather than with the platitudes of yesterday. Behind a delightful style is the author's well-rounded conception of the nature of the ministry. He is aware of what is going on in the life of the twentieth century minister and is able to interpret the new and necessary place of preaching within the context of the modern congregation. While this book as a whole has something to say to every preacher, Chapter V—"The Credentials of The Preacher"—is especially good. It is as fine a discussion of the marks of the effective preacher as one can find, even in the historic lectureships on preaching.

It is hoped that this book will be read widely by theological students and young preachers. They will like it and profit greatly from it. They will want more from Dr. Pearson's pen—soon.

DONALD MACLEOD

Symbolism in Liturgical Art, by LeRoy H. Appleton and Stephen Bridges. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1959. Pp. 120. $3.50.

With the contemporary interest in the art of communication, the problem of symbolism has come under consideration especially in liturgical studies. The most comprehensive volume to appear recently was *Signs and Symbols in Christian Art*, by George Ferguson (Oxford, 1954). Unfortunately the price of this book put it out of the range of most ministers and hence the need has been felt for a smaller and more compact handbook for ready and convenient use. *Symbolism in Liturgical Art* will be hailed as an answer to a popular need.

The authors were well equipped and prepared to undertake the compilation of and necessary research for such a book. LeRoy H. Appleton is an artist and typographer, the author of a highly informative volume, *Indian Art of the Americas* (Scribners, 1950). Stephen Bridges is a professional designer of stained glass and a life-long student of liturgical practice. They have selected 134 symbols most commonly used in Christian art and liturgy and furnished brief, yet thorough, historical notes explaining the elements of the symbol and its relationship either to Biblical or Patristic writings. References are made both to the King James and Douai Versions wherever there are differences in the wording of the texts.

This book ought to be in every minister's library and should be found to be useful in classroom studies of liturgical art and symbols. Also, with the revival of concern for meaningful church construction, this handbook can be a helpful means of acquainting Christians with an understanding of their heritage.

DONALD MACLEOD

Think About These Things, by Robert D. Hershey. Muhlenberg Press, Phila., 1958. Pp. 198. $2.50.

Here is an interesting volume of sermons by one of the outstanding preachers of the Lutheran Church in America. Dr. Hershey,

who is the minister of Holy Trinity Church, New York City, and a well-known radio preacher, has given us twenty-three addresses, grouped under four main topics: The Things We Want; The Things We Need; The Things That Stand in The Way: and The Things To Be Done.

The first characteristic that strikes the reader of these sermons is the author's excellent conversational style. He writes with a competent pen and has read widely in the contemporary literature of a number of fields. His approach to various subjects is so original that even those of us who read most of the published sermonic material can not detect where he has done his browsing.

The strength of Dr. Hershey's preaching lies, however, in his knowledge of the New Testament and of its implications for our common life. He is sensitive to the pulse beat of a great city and he is able therefore to meet and handle skilfully the awkward questions raised by everyday men and women. His illustrative material is new and his method avoids the perils of customary anecdotage.

It is difficult to criticize a book of sermons without feeling that one is berating the man. If these sermons have any weakness it comes from the loss of directness which is suffered whenever preaching is rewritten for publication. In such a process the sharp edge of the Gospel is frequently blunted and its startling realities are missed. Without a doubt these sermons made a strong impact upon the congregation to which they were delivered.

DONALD MACLEOD

Publications by the Faculty of Princeton Theological Seminary, 1958-1959

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—*Journal of Biblical Studies.*